

UNITED STATES

Memorandum

TO : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

FROM : Mr. E. B. Reddy

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: May 2, 1960

1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Reddy

* Tolson _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
DeLoach _____
Malone _____
McGuire _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-10-89 BY 083BTJ/af

The following is a brief outline of the background of the Fund for the Republic (FFR) and the current status of this matter in view of the fact that it was recently reassigned to the Internal Security Section.

BACKGROUND:

The FFR was authorized by the trustees of the Ford Foundation in October, 1951, and was incorporated with its own board of directors in December, 1952. It assumed a completely independent status and \$15,000,000 was appropriated for it by the Ford Foundation.

OBJECTIVES:

The objectives of the FFR as stated by its president includes: (1) a desire to advance the understanding of civil liberties; (2) the belief that the citizen should know what his rights are, what is happening to them and arousing interest in civil liberties and; (3) to report current information on the state of freedom in this country.

PROJECTS AND STUDIES:

Since its inception, the FFR has made numerous direct grants to various organizations and has undertaken a number of projects and studies, including:

- (1) the communist record
- (2) attitudes toward communism and civil liberties
- (3) communist influence in American life
- (4) loyalty - security programs
- (5) cases in personnel security EX 109 REC-7 100-391697-620
- (6) fear in education
- (7) testimony of informants relating to communism 12 MAY 1960
- (8) the black-listing of persons in the entertainment industry.

EBR:djd
(3)
100-391697

5-7013

Memorandum Mr. Reddy to Mr. Baumgardner
Re: Fund for the Republic
100-391697

CRITICISM OF THE FFR:

Since its inception, the FFR has been sharply criticized by numerous well known reporters and public officials, including David Lawrence, George Sokolsky, Fulton Lewis, Jr., Walter Winchell, several senators and representatives, the American Legion and editorial writers of newspapers throughout the United States. The criticism has been mainly on the following points:

- (1) The FFR's assumption that the CP, USA, is not a threat to our security but is merely another political party;
- (2) The FFR's employment of individuals who have a background of affiliation with questionable organizations;
- (3) The FFR's activities as a political and propaganda agency rather than a tax-exempt foundation.

RUNNING MEMORANDUM

From 1953 to August, 1955, the Bureau followed the projects and studies of the FFR and kept the Attorney General advised of the background of the various officers and employees of the Fund. In August, 1955, W. H. Ferry, the vice president of the FFR, advised that the Fund intended to investigate the FBI and the American Legion. The Director instructed that a comprehensive memorandum be prepared on the FFR with background data on the principal officers and that this memorandum be kept up to date at all times.⁷ This running memorandum began as a continuation of a monogram on the FFR prepared by the Central Research Section in November, 1955. It was brought up to date every three months since January 1, 1956, by the Liaison Section. By memorandum 7-14-58 it was pointed out that the memorandum had grown too cumbersome for the Director's use and it was recommended that it be discontinued. It was further recommended that in the event it was determined that at some date in the future the running memorandum was again necessary, it would be brought up to date, but that meanwhile the Liaison Section would follow the activities of the FFR and advise of all pertinent developments as they occurred. These recommendations were approved by the Director.

Memorandum Reddy to Baumgardner
Re: Fund for the Republic
100-391697

CURRENT STATUS

Since the running memorandum was discontinued, the Liaison Section has continued to prepare memoranda, and when needed, to furnish the Director background information on new employees of the FFR and has otherwise kept the Director advised of the activities of the Fund. Many of the memoranda have dealt with [redacted]

[redacted] Referral/Consult

In March, 1960, a meeting was called by the current president of the FFR, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, at the Mark Hopkins Hotel in San Francisco. According to a Bureau contact in attendance, it appeared that the Fund is running out of money and Hutchins is attempting to raise additional funds for its continued existence. According to information available to the Bureau in July, 1958, the original \$15,000,000 granted to the Fund would last no longer than July, 1961. In this connection, it is noted that the Ford family and the Ford Foundation have long been disgusted with the activities of the FFR and, according to information available to the Bureau, do not anticipate providing the Fund any more money.

ACTION:

For your information in view of the reassignment of this matter to the Internal Security Section.

RWV

September 2, 1960

REC-72

621

b6
b7C[REDACTED]
Santa Barbara, California

Dear [REDACTED]:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-10-89 BY 28851JL

Your letter dated August 25, 1960, has been received and the interest which prompted your communication is indeed appreciated.

In response to your inquiry, I must advise that the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the FBI do not extend to furnishing evaluations or comments concerning the character or integrity of any individual, publication or organization. The FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not issue clearances or nonclearances.

I am sure you will understand the necessity for this policy and will not infer that we do or do not have in our files the information you desire.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

1—Los Angeles (Enclosure)

SEE NOTE TO SAC, LOS ANGELES, PAGE TWO

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

THF:bgc
(4)

Tolson _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
DeLoach _____
Malone _____
McGuire _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

b6
b7C

ATTENTION: SAC, LOS ANGELES:

Enclosed is a copy of correspondent's communication. Bufiles contain no identifiable derogatory data concerning the correspondent.

Bufiles reveal that correspondent contacted the Bureau by letter dated August 8, 1960, at which time he complimented the Director on the pamphlet entitled "Communist Target - Youth." This letter was acknowledged by Bulet dated August 16, 1960, and Dr. Pierce was furnished the following literature:
1. "Communist Illusion and Democratic Reality" and
2. "Expose of Soviet Espionage."

The Fund for the Republic was created in 1951 by a \$15,000,000 grant from the Ford Foundation. The Bureau has never investigated the Fund for the Republic. Numerous individuals connected with this organization have in the past had questionable associations with persons or organizations suspected of having subversive affiliation. The Fund for the Republic has at times been very critical of the Bureau, the loyalty program and internal security problems.

100-391697

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Correspondent requests information concerning Fund for the Republic and, in particular, any literature available concerning the Fund, its activities and "subversiveness."

TRUE COPY



b6
b7C

Santa Barbara, California



Aug 25-60.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATED 10-29 BY SP855302

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Washington, Calif.

Dear Mr. Hoover:-

I am anxious to know about, "The Fund For The Republic." They are making quite a drive here in S.B. We have heard that thru them the University of Cal. at Berkeley, Santa Barbara, and Los Angeles are exchanging teachers with Russia. Can you tell me definitely it this so? and any literature on the Fund, its activities and subversiveness. Thank you for your previous enclosures and kind letter.

Yours for America.

/s/

b6
b7C

TRUE COPY

b6
b7C

Aug 25-60.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Washington, Calif.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-10-89 BY 858(B)(7)af

Dear Mr. Hoover:-

I am anxious
to know about, The Fund For the
Republic! They are making
quite a drive here in S. B. We
have heard that thru them the
University of Cal. at Berkeley, Santa
Barbara, and Los Angeles are
exchanging teachers with Russia.
Can you tell me definitely
if this so? and any literature
on this Fund, its activities and
subversiveness. Thank you for
EX 109 REC 72 100-39187-2
your previous enclosures and
kind letter.

4 SEP 8 1960

ack 26.7.11
TFR 1-11 (w/e)

b6
b7C

Yours for America

SPK

October 31, 1960

REC-3

291697-622

[REDACTED]

Columbus 21, Ohio

b6
b7C

Dear [REDACTED]:

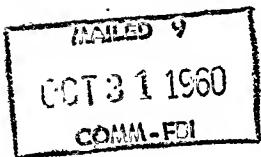
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-21-07 BY 003515108

Your letter of October 20, 1960, has been received, and the interest which prompted you to write is appreciated.

Although I would like to be of service, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency and, as such, does not make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. I regret that I am unable to be of assistance and hope you will not infer in this connection either that we do or that we do not have the specific data you desire.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director



NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Although we have actually conducted no investigation regarding the Fund for the Republic, we have followed its activities for a long period of time and because of its controversial nature, above reply seems appropriate.

RWE:DCL:jab/leb

1. Leon _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
DeLoach _____
McNamee _____
McGurn _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Witter _____
C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Sam _____
Gray _____

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

copy!
Dear Mr. Hoover, Oct 20, 1960

Could you please
give me the
status of the
Fund for the
Republic? Is it
infiltrated with
Communists?

Thank you,

Sincerely,

Columbus, 21. Ohio

b6
b7C

L

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED REC-3
DATE 8-10-89 BY 28351 Jaf

100-391697-622

NOV 1 1960

TRUE COPY

, Oct 20, 1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATED 10-19 BY SP351310f

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Could you please give me the status of the Fund
for the Republic? If it infiltrated with communists?

Thank you,

Sincerely -

/s/

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]
Columbus, 21, Ohio

J. E. [Signature]

*REML
ACKL
10-21-60
J. E. [Signature]*

*H.C.
10-21-60*

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

October 24, 1960

The attached copy of "Community of Fear" by Harrison Brown and James Real was sent to the Director from The Fund for the Republic, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, Calif.

No reference noted to the Director or FBI.

Attachment
hbb

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Malone _____
Mr. McGuire _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Mr. Jones _____
Mr. J. C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Ingram _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

EX-127

File

REC-28

100-391697-Sub 623

13 NOV 9 1960

CRT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-10-01 BY 20857Jaf

ENCLOSURE

63 NOV 16 1960

Community of Fear

HARRISON BROWN

JAMES REAL

Foreword by Reinhold Niebuhr

THE FREE SOCIETY
A CONVERSATION ON THE DISCUSSION OF
CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

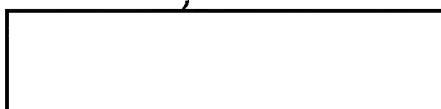
~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE ENHANCED
OTHERWISE~~

REC-88.

100-391677-624

November 4, 1960

112200



b6
b7C

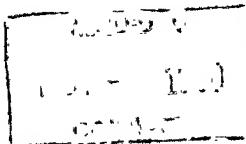
Dear [redacted]:

I have received your letters dated October 26 and 27, 1960, and your interest in writing to me is indeed appreciated.

In response to your inquiries, I must advise that the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not furnish evaluations or comments concerning the character or integrity of any individual, publication or organization.

I can advise you, however, that the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, is a part of the United States Government. I am taking the liberty, therefore, of furnishing a copy of your letter dated October 27, 1960, to the appropriate agency of our Government.

Sincerely yours,



John Edgar Hoover
Director

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE TWO

RDS:djw
(3)

2/3/11
Classified by 2023/11/30
Declassify on: DADR
6-10-89

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tolson _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
DeLoach _____
Malone _____
McGuire _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trutler _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Info. Room _____
Jan. _____

32 NOV 16 1960

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

012201

NOTE ON YELLOW:

By letter dated October 26, 1960, correspondent inquired concerning the Fund for the Republic (FFR) and asked to be advised if it is a patriotic organization and if the FBI has taken a stand on the patriotism of the organization.

In his October 27, 1960, letter, he stated he has access to a daily report of foreign radio broadcast translations, issued by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and inquired if we could tell him what agency, U.S. or foreign, publishes this document. He stated the document does not indicate where it is printed nor does "any agency that I have cognizance of own-up to printing the report." He requests any information we can furnish concerning it. Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning the correspondent.

The FFR has never been investigated by the Bureau. However, numerous persons connected with it have, in the past, had questionable associations with individuals and organizations suspected of subversive affiliations. The FFR has, at times, been very critical of the Bureau, the loyalty program and internal security problems. (100-391697)

[The FBIS is part of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and material disseminated by FBIS originates from monitoring of foreign radio broadcasts and is not classified. Liaison Agent determined from CIA] on 11-2-60 that there are no objections to advising correspondent that FBIS is part of the United States Government. S-103

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100 - 391697-624

TRUE COPY

[redacted]

b6
b7C

27 October 1960

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I have access to a publication called
FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE which publishes
a DAILY REPORT of foreign radio broadcast translations.

Can you tell me what U.S. (or foreign)
agency publishes this Daily Report? And in what
repute this agency is held by the F. B. I.

The front page of this report contains
the following notice: "It is requested that recipients
of this report make no mention of the Foreign Broadcast
Information Service when referring by Quotation or
otherwise to information contained in this report."

No-where on this report is there a credit
page, i.e. the report does not show where it is
printed, nor does any agency that I have cognizance
of own-up to printing the report.

I would appreciate any information that you
would care to forward to me at the above address
concerning the Foreign Broadcast Information Service.

Yours truly

/s/

[redacted]

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-10-89 BY 2033CS7J/alg

TRUE COPY

TRUE COPY

[redacted]
b6
b7C

26 October 1960

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

I am a citizen interested in learning how reputable the "Fund For The Republic" really is.

Is there any way I can find out whether or not this "Fund for the Republic" is a patriotic or un-American organization.

I have read reports published by the "Fund" and have myself felt the the "Fund" is not functioning in the best interests of the United States.

Please tell me if the F. B. I has taken a stand on the "patriotism" of this "Fund".

Thank you for your aid

Yours truly

/s/

[redacted]
b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-10-89 BY [signature]

TRUE COPY

26 October 1960

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

Fund For The Republic
I am a citizen interested
in learning how reputable the
"Fund For The Republic" really is.
Is there any way I can
find out whether or not this
"Fund for the Republic" is a
patriotic or non-American
organization.

I have ^{read} reports published by
the "Fund" and have myself felt
the the "Fund" is not functioning in the
best interests of the United
States.

REC-88

100-341697-627

Please tell me if the F.B.I.
has taken a stand on the
"patriotism" of this "Fund".

Thank you for your aid

Yours truly,

5th

b6
b7C

Date 11-3-60

To

Director

FILE #

Att. CENTRAL RESEARCH

SAC SECTION

Title

ASAC

Supv.

Agent

SE

CC

Steno

Clerk

REG 1A
REC'D

ACTION DESIRED

- Acknowledge
- Assign.....Reassign.....
- Bring file
- Call me
- Correct
- Deadline.....
- Deadline passed
- Delinquent
- Discontinue
- Expedite
- File
- For information
- Initial & return
- Leads need attention
- Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

- Open Case
- Prepare lead cards
- Prepare tickler
- Recharge serials
- Return assignment card
- Return file
- Return serials
- Search and return
- See me
- Send Serials.....
to
- Submit new charge-out
- Submit report by
- Type

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-09-2001 BY SP55710

Enclosed find one copy of, "COMMUNITY OF FEAR", published by Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif., an agency of the Fund for the Republic, Inc. Booklet relates to the nature of the "arms race", and what the consequences of its perpetuation will likely be.

SAC *TOMMY BART*

Office LOS ANGELES

b6
b7C

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED
ENCLURE ON REVERSE SIDE

62 NOV 23 1960

NOV 23 1960

REG 1A

100-391697-625

NOT RECORDED

12 NOV 16 1960

EX- 134

UNITED STATES

NT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Mobile (62-0)

SUBJECT: ~~X~~ COMMUNITY OF FEAR
by Harrison Brown and James Real

INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: 2/20/61
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-10-91 BY 208513/ob

SERIES T 1670/8

~~CAL TECH
FEB 22 1961~~

During the period 11/22 - 26/60, a series of articles captioned "Community of Fear," purportedly authored by HARRISON BROWN and JAMES ~~REAL~~, appeared in the ~~Alabama Journal~~, a daily newspaper published at Montgomery, Alabama, editor C. M. STANLEY. This series of articles relates to the matter of world military armament, particularly nuclear devices of war, dangers created and sustained by international competition in armament, and related discussions. Particularly interesting is a discussion under the heading "Accidental and Catalytic War," in which the authors appear to assume that the Russian military position will become more clearly dominant in the next decade, and that as a result, the United States and other Western powers will become desperate and more likely to commit "desperate, erratic and unauthorized action." The authors also regard as "real" the possibility of a coup d'etat by "the United States military," in the event of a disarmament agreement which "the military" does not "consider fool-proof."

Buffile
100-391691
These articles were called to the attention of [redacted] Maxwell Air Force Base, and he furnished photostatic copies of all articles, prepared from clippings from the Alabama Journal. [redacted] also reported that the Advertiser Company, publishers of the Alabama Journal, have run out of copies of these issues of that paper.

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[redacted] also stated that his office has information of a security nature concerning the authors, HARRISON BROWN and JAMES REAL, indicating that they are

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b7C

- ② - Bureau (Encs. 5)(RM)
2 - Los Angeles
1 - Mobile (62-0)

TOL XE

59 MAR 3 1961

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED REC'D 65

ENCLOSURE

12 FEB 23 1961

SUBJ. CONTROL

MO 62-0

Hrg. 12/1
California residents and indicating that ~~BROWN~~, particularly, is a member of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, a Communist front organization and other front groups.

Yours, [Signature] Mobile considers it very likely that the Bureau has already received this information and has full information concerning the authors. In the event that this is not true, Los Angeles is requested to advise the Bureau and Mobile any pertinent information appearing in the indices of that office. The photostatic copy of the articles is enclosed to the Bureau.

ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU: (5)

Photostatic copies of articles appearing in Alabama Journal, Montgomery, Alabama newspaper furnished by OSI, Maxwell AFB, Montgomery, Alabama

RE: "COMMUNITY OF FEAR"
by HARRISON BROWN and JAMES REAL
INFORMATION CONCERNING

RE: Mobile letter to the Bureau dated 2/20/61

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-30-03 BY SP3

3T310SP

Mobile file 62-0

100 - 11 - 1 - 626

ENCLOSURE

<input type="checkbox"/>	Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
<input type="checkbox"/>	Service Unit - Room 6524
<input type="checkbox"/>	Forward to File Review
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Attention <u>Bumgarde nee</u>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Return to <u>1260</u>
	Supervisor Room Ext.

b6 b7C

Type of References Requested:

- Regular Request (Analytical Search)
 All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
 Subversive References Only
 Nonsubversive References Only
 Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 Restricted to Locality of _____

Exact Name Only (On the Nose)

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 Buildup _____ Variations _____

DATE 8-10-89 BY SP8 (STJ) pag

Subject _____ b6
 Birthdate _____ b7C
 Address _____

Localities _____

R# _____ Date 2/23/61 Searcher Initials Hank

Prod. 100-3842-45 FILE NUMBER SERIAL

100-391677-623

579, 5, 2, 19;

400, 6, 2, 54;

63, 5,

100-391677-623

b6

b7C

100-391677-623

100-391677-623

100-391677-623

377

100-391677-623

(1)

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

, 19

<input type="checkbox"/>	Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
<input type="checkbox"/>	Service Unit - Room 6524
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Forward to File Review
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Attention <i>Bureau address</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Return to <i>1260</i>
	Supervisor Room Ext.

b6
b7C

Type of References Requested:

- Regular Request (Analytical Search)
 All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
 Subversive References Only
 Nonsubversive References Only
 Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

- Restricted to Locality of _____
 Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
 Buildup Variations

Subject b6
 Birthdd b7C

Address _____

Localities _____

R# _____ Date 2/23/61 Searcher Initials Gmk

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER SERIAL

<i>MR</i>	<u>62-10960</u>	
	<u>600-74498</u>	
	<u>600-381395</u>	
	<u>600-41148</u>	
	<u>600-41148-9, sum. 6/23/54</u>	
	<u>approx. 200 sec refs.</u>	
	<u>on the nose.</u>	
		b6
		b7C

<u>416-41148-10, sum. 1/29/60</u>	
<u>13, " 1/16/61</u>	
<u>605-77936-6,</u>	
<u>600-368054-A-W.M.W.</u>	
<u>past 4 times, 1/16/60</u>	
<u>3/1/58</u>	
<u>approx 11. 20 m.s. refs.</u>	
<u>not searched.</u>	

b6

b7C

(9)

'Butter Is More Likely To Disappear Than Guns'

By HARRISON BROWN
and JAMES REAL
A.M.D KAes real
(Last Of A Series)

The elements and conditions reinforcing the war economy are many. Real, justified fear of the mysterious Soviet juggernaut is held by most of the people in one way or another. Substantial disarmament now, or at any foreseeable time ahead, seems emotionally (and, therefore, practically) impossible.

On the contrary, the psychology of fear promises to increase to the point where substantial personal economic sacrifices could be asked of the people — and given willingly, if the alternative parades as military vulnerability.

Even a full-scale depression would undoubtedly be largely blamed on Soviet actions and pressures. It is conceivable that the public reaction would be similar to that displayed after Pearl Harbor.

The butter is more likely to disappear than the guns.

We have seen that our prospects of securing agreements upon disarmament and arms control are poor when viewed domestically. (How far will Russia be willing to go? What is her conception of our intentions? What about China?) The prospects appear to be even more remote.

We have also seen that if the arms race continues at its present pace, the probability of war is very high. What, then, are our prospects? If war indeed approaches the inevitable, we should inquire into means for minimizing its impact upon us. Can we defend ourselves? Can we recover?

In connection with our military position, it is clear that an offense has enormous advantage over even the most active defense. Undoubtedly in the years ahead there will be considerable progress in the development of anti-missile missiles. But it is doubtful that we will ever be able to destroy more than a small fraction of the missiles headed toward our military installations and cities.

An obvious defense measure, and the areas of lower population

which in principle could be made as effective as desired, would be to protect the people and their cities from the effects of nuclear weapons. Relatively simple shelters, it is alleged, can protect the people outside the areas of blast from the effects of fallout. Very deep and elaborate underground shelters can protect people from the primary and secondary thermal effects. Relatively primitive underground storage shelters can protect stocks of food, equipment, and raw materials.

We saw in an earlier section that a 1,500-megaton attack upon the United States today would result in about 60 million casualties. The installation of fallout shelters in the areas outside the major cities would decrease the number of immediate casualties considerably. Installation of shelters to protect against blast and thermal effects might decrease the casualties to about 5 million. Were all business activities (except farming) and all residences moved very deeply underground, casualties could be reduced dramatically.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of the damage and the number of casualties which we could support in the United States and still recover from the effects of the blow. A great deal would depend upon the extent of the preparations which had been made. A great deal would depend upon the true vulnerability of modern industrial society to disruption.

The Soviet Union lost about 20 million persons (about 10 percent of her population) during World War II and recovered rapidly — but the losses were sustained over a period of several years. Kahn has estimated that with rather modest preparations we could sustain a sudden loss of at least 20 million persons and rebuild our economy in about 10 years. This estimate makes some assumptions concerning the vulnerability of the industrial-economic organism which may not be true. It assumes, for example, that the major metropolitan areas

density are relatively independent of each other and that the economy could be rebuilt by the latter were the former totally destroyed.

It assumes that people will behave rationally following the attack. It ignores the effect of shock. It minimizes the sensitivity to disruption of the complex network of

mines, farms, factories, distribution centers, transportation facilities, and communication systems.

The question of whether or not a nation can recover from a nuclear attack of a given magnitude cannot be answered easily, for it involves a multiplicity of interlocking factors, some physical and other human. One can debate the question endlessly, and in the long run one would not know for certain until the great test was made.

In the light of our best estimates of current Soviet offensive capabilities, were an all-out attack to be made upon us today, recovery might be possible. Again, this question is debatable. Were the attack to take place in another five years, and were we to make no preparations, recovery would be extremely dubious. Presumably preparation could expedite recovery from such an attack. For this reason we can expect great emphasis to be placed during the next few years on programs aimed at decreasing the vulnerability of our population and expediting post-attack recovery. The next phase of the "arms race" will almost certainly involve great emphasis upon the area of civilian defense.

If the arms race continues, as it probably will, its future pattern seems clear in broad outline. As a result of the emergence of the current tremendous capabilities for killing and destroying, programs will be started aimed at the evacuation of cities, the construction of fallout shelters in regions outside the major metropolitan areas, and the construction of limited underground shelters. Increased offensive capabilities will then emerge which will to some extent neutralize these efforts. Larger bombs will be compressed into sufficiently small packages to be carried by ICBM's. Very large bombs (about 1,000 megatons) will be built which, when exploded at an altitude of about 300 miles, could sear six Western states.

The new developments will cause people to burrow more deeply into the ground. Factories will be built in caves, as will apartment houses and stores. Eventually most human life will be underground, confronted by arsenals capable of destroying all life over the land areas of the earth. Deep under the ground

people will be relatively safe — at least until such time as we learn how to make explosives capable of pulverizing the earth to great depths.

The arms race and the associated uprooting of established institutions will outstrip by far the spiral of upheaval described by Wang Chi during the war which preceded the T'ang dynasty:

"These days, continually fuddled with drink
I fail to satisfy the appetites of the soul.
But seeing men all behaving like drunkards,
How can I alone remain sober?"

The Soviet Union has apparently, in the last few years, instituted a civilian defense program of substantial magnitude. It is probable that within the next two or three years the United States will embark on a crash shelter program for a large proportion of citizens and some of its industry. Once the shelter program is underway, it will constitute a significant retreat from the idea of obsolescence of war.

Once the people are convinced that they can survive the present state of the art of killing, a broad and significant new habit pattern will have been introduced and accepted, one grotesquely different from any we have known for thousands of years — that of adjusting ourselves to the idea of living in holes. From that time onward it will be simple to adjust ourselves to living in deeper holes.

Tens of thousands of years ago our Mousterian and Aurignacian ancestors lived in caves. The vast knowledge which we have accumulated will have brought us full cycle. The epic of man's journey upward into the light will have ended.

Is War Obsolete?

Men have engaged in acts of war for unknown millennia. It is now often stated that the new techniques of war have rendered the war system obsolete — that war and the threat of war is no longer a useful extension of diplomacy. That this will eventually be true is unquestionable. If the arms race continues and if man survives that race, it will eventually end as a grotesque stalemate involving weapons of such enormous destructiveness that they simply cannot be used — nor can their use be effectively threatened.

It is also possible that war will become obsolete prior to the ultimate stalemate, because man might take it upon himself to eliminate it from his culture.

In the meantime, however, war might not be obsolete, because people might believe that wars can be fought without fantastic danger. In other words, people might believe the consequences of war to be less terrible than the consequences of not being both able and willing to fight a war.

Whether or not a war is potentially too dangerous to fight will depend of course upon individual outlook. How many deaths can be tolerated? Who will do the "tolerating"? The political leaders? The people themselves? What are the chances for recovery? Will anyone want to survive and

"recover"? What are the chance of recovery? In any event, it seems likely that continued use of the war system will involve the violent deaths of ten of millions to hundreds of millions of presons, coupled with the serious risk that economic recovery might not be possible. For as long as people and their governments are willing to take such risks — for as long as people and their governments continue to deposit confidence in violence as the ultimate solution to conflict, the ratio of human disagreements to the war system will be the indispensable vehicle of resolution.

It is clear that ending the war system demands the common consent of all of the world's powers — those now capable of nuclear military adventures and those who one day may be. If any one nation which possesses nuclear potential believes that the war system is not obsolete, it will be retained. The arms race, already almost incomprehensible in capacity for mass annihilation, will be elaborated with new elements — chemical, biological, psychological — until the arsenals are packed with devices to destroy all the people of the world many times over. Yet in the long run the grisly "race" can produce no winner. In any future war the consolation prizes can only be surrender, stalemate, or death.

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COMMUNITY OF FEAR'

Thirty More Nations Could Be Nuclear Powers In Next 20 Y

In thinking of deterrent systems, we usually think in terms of the two major powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Yet nuclear technology — and in particular nuclear military technology — is spreading. England conducted nuclear tests several years ago. More recently, France tested her first nuclear device. It is probably that nuclear military technology will spread to a number of additional nations in the course of the next 20 years.

A recent study indicates that 11 additional countries are technically and economically able to embark on successful nuclear weapons programs: Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, West Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Sweden, and Switzerland. Most of these nations are highly industrialized and either have operating reactors or arrangements for obtaining them.

Eight countries are cited as being capable economically, although more limited in technical competence and in scientific manpower than the countries in the first group. These include Australia, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Netherlands, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

An additional six countries are viewed as probably being economically capable, although being appreciably more limited in industrial resources and scientific manpower: Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Norway, Spain and the Union of South Africa. It is difficult to see how any of these countries could achieve a successful nuclear weapons program within the next five years.

But when we view the situation from the point of view of the requisite capabilities, in principle there could readily be 15 nations producing nuclear arms within a decade. Within 20 years nearly 30 nations could be in the nuclear bomb business.

Quite apart from their achieving independent nuclear military capabilities, nuclear arms will almost surely spread to other nations as the result of military alliances. Although the United States exerts nominal controls over all of its nuclear weapons, it has in effect placed them in the hands of its NATO allies. It is possible that the Soviet Union will eventually place weapons in the hands of certain of its allies such as China and North Korea and

about as rapidly as nuclear technology. It seems likely that this will be true for China, the most threatening of the pre-industrial powers. In addition, there are other delivery systems which could be used; the submarine, for example, or more pedestrian methods — the sabotaging ship or the "planted" valise — or more ingenious methods which cost little or nothing.

The spread of nuclear military capabilities will almost certainly decrease the stability of deterrent systems. The greater the number of nations that possess the capability of launching a nuclear strike, the greater the probability that there will be a strike.

The spread of nuclear military technology will greatly increase the complexity of deterrent systems. Thus, when China becomes a nuclear and missile power or when we believe that she has become one, we must train our missiles upon the bases and cities of that country as well as upon those of the Soviet Union. And the Soviet Union will undoubtedly feel it necessary to deter China as well. In any event, as nation after nation arms — China, Japan, East Germany, West Germany, Yugoslavia, Spain, Argentina — we must make decisions as to whether or not we must establish systems to deter them. Are they potential enemies or friends? To what extent can they be trusted?

Accidental And Catalytic War

Even with only two nuclear powers and four nuclear nations in the world, there is a finite chance that an all-out nuclear war could be triggered accidentally. This could be brought about as the result of either mechanical or human failure. No machine is perfect. No human being is free from the possibility of making errors of judgment. Already, for example, there have been several accidents involving American aircraft carrying nuclear bombs.

One can conceive of a number of ways in which a nuclear war might start accidentally. Radar evidence might be misinterpreted, and under the misconception that an attack had been launched by one country a retaliatory attack might be launched by the other.

traditional diplomatic chalk-line; "This far and no farther!"

The answer to the English is obvious: "We hope to exercise nominal field control over American and NATO military units, both our tactical forces and such activities as aerial espionage, but we have no means at hand or in sight to guarantee such control. The only temporary encouragement we can offer is that there seems to be a deterrent balance which renders the execution of the threats against you improbable. But we do not know at what point the U. S. S. R. will decide that the military margin is sufficiently in her favor to warrant the risks involved in carrying out these threats."

What we cannot bring ourselves to say openly in this hypothetical reply is: As the Russian military position becomes more clearly dominant in the next decade, and an increasing psychological pressure is brought to bear on the Western positions everywhere, the likelihood of desperate, erratic, unauthorized action by U. S. and Allied forces is much greater than the chance of similar breaches of discipline by the Soviets. For one thing, the Soviet political and military policies are one policy, responsive only to the master plan of action — whatever it may be. For another, the Soviets have a polished method at hand for "violation by proxy," the calculated use of dominated or threatened powers to perform acts of belligerence which the U. S. S. R. may disclaim. The U.S.-NATO alliance, on the other hand, is hampered operationally by political differences, exposure inequities, geographic awkwardness which complicates logistic and communication problems, and, to some extent, language difficulties.

Thus, if things continue the way they are going, the possibility of a coup by the United States military is real. The general assumption that the American soldier is automatically responsive to his civilian masters might be rudely shaken were there a serious and clearly visible retreat on the world front by the American policy-makers. The same might be true in the event of a disarmament agreement which the military does not consider fool-proof.

In addition to accident, it is possible that the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. can become involved

conceivable that she might later place such weapons in the hands of certain nations in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Southwest Asia.

It is not at all unlikely that nuclear explosive devices, and the ingredients for making them, will eventually enter into international commerce. This will be particularly true if such devices are used on any appreciable scale for peaceful pursuits such as earth-moving.

Nuclear weapons are rapidly becoming less complicated, less expensive, and easier to manufacture. They are by all odds the least expensive means of killing and destroying. They can give smaller nations power for waging war which is out of all proportion to their true industrial power. Given such weapons, Cuba in principle could threaten the United States, or Turkey could threaten the Soviet Union — to be sure, not enough to annihilate, but enough to cause really serious trouble. For these reasons the pressures leading to the spread of nuclear weapons and of nuclear military technology appear to be too strong to be overcome in the absence of a forceful agreement between the present nuclear powers. There is no substantial evidence that this will occur.

A nuclear weapon, to be effective, must be delivered to a target. The complexities of long-range missiles are such that lags in missile technology will hinder the development of effective nuclear weapons systems in many countries. Shorter-range missiles, however, are less complex and are more likely to enter into international commerce. But even the longer-range missiles are becoming less complex and less expensive, and it may well be that missile technology will spread

Reconnaissance flights carried out by one nation over or near the territory of another might be construed as acts of war and might lead to the launching of a first strike against air or missile bases. An American pilot might, as a result of strain during a period of tension, bomb a Soviet city. The reverse situation is also conceivable — and were New York suddenly demolished, there is little question that with our present organization and philosophy, we would retaliate quickly and vigorously. When we are fully in the age of missiles we must reckon particularly with the possibility of serious accident, largely because the time for decision will be so short.

We are not far distant from the time when we will use satellites on a large scale for reconnaissance purposes, for communications, and as carriers of weapons. The use of such satellites might be interpreted as acts of war, as might efforts on the part of a potential enemy to destroy them. Such satellites could be used to jam radio communications over another nation's territory, and this in itself might appear to justify the launching of an attack.

Intensive submarine activity can lead to accident. Misinterpretation of the identity or intentions of an unknown underwater vehicle could lead to unwarranted action on our part. Failure of submarine communications with home base could result in the premature firing of her missiles.

We must worry also about "administrative accidents" — that is, about military decisions to launch attacks that are not adequately approved by higher authorities. Not long ago a Tunisian village was bombed by the French military without the prior consent or knowledge of the French government. It is conceivable that military officials in the U. S. or the U. S. S. R. might bring about a coup and order an attack of their own without adequate approval.

Recently the House of Commons heard a difficult question addressed to the prime minister: What guarantees could be brought forward that would assure that no more "overflights" out of British bases would be made? The ensuing discussion revolved on the possibility of this sort of action being undertaken by the American governments.

Clearly no such assurance can be given. The possibilities of military action (not necessarily of the button-pushing kinds) being undertaken en camera by a small group of officers, either American or Russian, grows as the number of ways in which politicians' ultimatums can be violated increases. As crisis compounds crisis, from Cuba to the Congo, the probability of missjudgment, accident, or precipitous military action vastly increased.

Nor can a situation, unstable as it is, become anything but worse so long as violence provides the means for enforcement of the

in a war which neither nation wants as the result of the catalytic action of a third nation. For example, New York, Washington, Los Angeles, and San Francisco might suddenly be destroyed by thermonuclear weapons launched from submarines. The submarine themselves might not be identifiable, but we might with good reason suspect them to be from

e-Storm Could Raze Metropolitan City

It seems clear that in the event of such an attack there would be virtually no survivors of the blast and thermal effects, with the possible exception of a few persons who had made elaborate preparations for surviving the catastrophe. Their shelters would have to be very deep and provided with a built-in oxygen supply and cooling system. Unless they were able to maintain themselves in such a shelter for many weeks, their chances of making their way to relative safety would be slim.

Those of our planes and missiles that were in the air at the time of attack — conceivably a very small number. With our bases destroyed we would be helpless. The Soviet Union could threaten to destroy our cities unless we capitulated. Thus, the war would be over without the loss of any of our major cities. The lives lost would be those involved with our military installations here and abroad and in adjacent cities and towns where fallout could claim many victims.

A major problem would be trying to get through ankle-high to knee-high ash containing numerous hidden pitfalls; clambering for dozens of miles over huge, smoking piles of radioactive rubble, burned-out timber, wire, and steel. If the survivor made it to the edge of the devastated area, he in all probability would have accumulated by that time a fatal dose of radiation which would shortly claim what was left of his life.

Although the Los Angeles situation is an extreme one, the vulnerability of other major metropolitan areas differs only in degree. If firestorms are indeed the rule rather than the exception, as seems likely in view of the huge quantities of flammable material that exist in all cities, we can expect the survivors of a direct hit by a thermonuclear bomb to be few in number. Civil defense preparations in our major metropolitan areas would appear, under the circumstances to make sense only if we were willing to rebuild those areas to provide for deep, extensive, and sealed underground quarters. An alternative would be to provide for rapid mass evacuation to the countryside, where shelters need only protect against the fallout. But the time for such evacuation following warning of an impending attack by missiles would be so short that the technological problems involved in moving the people would appear to be considerably greater than those involved in providing deep underground shelters.

In any event, it is evident that individual metropolitan areas are extremely vulnerable to thermonuclear attack. It is also clear that any program designed to decrease the vulnerability of these areas would be difficult to put into effect and extremely expensive. Rationally, were we to make vigorous efforts to survive a large-scale nuclear war, we would forget about our existing cities, reconcile ourselves to the loss of their inhabitants, and concentrate our efforts in other areas.

Site guidance could be relatively crude — errors of 10 miles could gories (1,500 to 4,000 mt). be easily tolerated.

An attempt to annihilate the population with fallout would require more explosive per unit area than would the thermal approach, but in the absence of protective shelters the quantities involved would by no means be prohibitive. In our present unprepared state a 20,000-megaton attack using bombs with a two-thirds fission yield designed to maximize deaths would result in the death from fallout within 60 days after the attack of virtually everyone who had survived the initial effects of blast and heat.

It seems likely that in our present state we could be destroyed as a nation, unable to recover,

by an attack considerably less than 20,000 megatons. We do not know the maximum damage that could be tolerated by the United States and that would permit the survivors to rebuild the economy.

However, one can conceive of an attack, considering all major direct and indirect effects, which

would result in virtual annihilation of our people, cities, villages, forests, and farmlands.

Such an attack would consist of a suitable mixture of bombs exploded at high altitude to make maximum use of thermal effects (2,000 to 3,000 mt), of surface bursts designed to destroy

military bases and the major urban centers (1,500 to 3,000 mt), and bombs exploded to maximize

the effect of fallout in areas which are not damaged by the

explosions of the first two

years.

AN ORDINANCE NO. 46-60.

In 1959 the Special Subcommittee on Radiation of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy attempted to provide a picture of the effect upon the United States of a 1,500-megaton attack — about three times larger than the "minimum" attack described above. The Committee took testimony from a number of experts concerning the effects of a simultaneous attack upon 224 centers, about half of them military. The data presented indicated that were the attack to take place today nearly 25 million deaths could be expected the first day and an additional 25 million persons would be fatally injured. An additional 20 million persons would be injured, but not fatally. Nearly 75 per cent of the deaths would have resulted from fallout. More than half of the surviving injured would have suffered radiation in-

Thermonuclear Blast Followed By Fire

By HARRISON BROWN

And JAMES REAL

(Third In A Series)

In an attempt to comprehend the order of magnitude of the effect of a thermonuclear explosion over a major metropolitan area, let us imagine that a 10-megaton warhead is exploded in the civic area of downtown Los Angeles. The bomb hits during the working hours of a weekday and the attack occurs sometime in the fall—this last in deference to the strategic supposition that a nuclear war will be launched only after the crops are harvested and put underground by the attacker.

The basic effects would exterminate virtually all but the most deeply sheltered living things within a radius of five miles. Blast casualties would be severe up to a distance of 10 miles. But the phenomenon that would com-

plete the devastation of life in the entire area would be fire, maintained area of Los Angeles is occupied by relatively few first-class concrete and steel build-

ings; a much greater proportion is the debris of an industrial society: auto junk yards, lumber yards, row upon row of cheap flammable commercial structures.

But most important, this remaining area is comprised of over 50 per cent brush-covered hills and scrub forest. Anyone who has participated in the fighting of a California brush fire and who is acquainted with the remarkable explosive nature of the oil-carrying greasewood, sumac, and scrub

pine is surprised and frightened by the volatility of the material even when it is wet. The novel aspect of a thermonuclear conflagration, however, is that most of these highly flammable materials would break into intense

flame simultaneously — a phenomenon never before achieved either by man or by natural causes.

There are relatively few facts about large fires. Several fires were produced by the incendiary bombing of German cities, and one such storm occurred after a fire raid on Tokyo. An atomic bomb created a fire storm at Hiroshima, but not Nagasaki. It seems safe to speculate that in Los Angeles at least a 25-mile radius and an unknown distance beyond it would be, within minutes, engulfed in a suffocating firestorm that would persist for a long time. It seems unlikely that there would be appreciable rainfall for weeks even months; thus, the basin fire would proceed in all directions with no interference from man or nature.

juries:

It should be emphasized, however, that these estimates of casualties are minimal, for they include only the estimates of casualties resulting from blast, direct thermal effects, and radiation. The estimates do not include casualties resulting from such secondary effects as the disorganization of society, a disruption of communications, massive fires, extinction of livestock, spread of disease, genetic damage, or the ingestion of radioactive materials.

In the attack, visualized, about 12 million dwellings would have suffered blast damage to the extent that they would not be salvageable. An additional nine million dwellings would have suffered some blast damage. Almost half the dwellings in the United States would have been either severely damaged or contaminated by fallout to the extent that they would not be usable for at least several months after the attack. Estimates were not given for secondary fire damage to structures. This could exceed by a considerable margin the damage resulting from blast.

Thus we could expect that a 1,500-megaton attack, were it to take place today, would result in the death or injury of at least one-third of our population. It has been pointed out that with the provision of appropriate shelter protection the number of casualties could be greatly reduced. At the same time we must recognize that attacks considerably larger than 1,500 megatons are technically feasible. Indeed, in our present state of unpreparedness for a thermonuclear war, it is now possible in principle for an enemy virtually to annihilate our population. One may argue legitimately whether the annihilation of our population would serve any useful purpose to an enemy. But the fact that it is possible in principle for another power to achieve such a result warrants a discussion of the possibility.

Were it not for the fact that a substantial fraction of our country is, at all times, covered with clouds, an enemy could completely scorch our earth by exploding about 600 10-megaton bombs, evenly spaced, at an altitude of about 30 miles. On a clear day forests, grasslands, and crops would ignite or wither, as would the flammable structure of the cities, towns, and villages. All exposed living creatures, except those living in the water, would perish. A substantial fraction of the human beings who were protected from the initial flash would perish in the resultant thermal holocaust. Others would perish as the result of such secondary effects of the catastrophe as lack of food and adequate medical care.

Fortunately at any one time clouds protect about 50 per cent of the nation, but such a technique could easily be developed.

... could readily be applied to
the clear areas. The cloud situa-
tion at any given time could be
determined by observation from
satellites or the Tiros type. Mis- A

'COMMUNIT'

One Bom Equals A In World

(First in

By HARRISON BROW

It is difficult for most enmity of the revolution through which we are now part of World War II, strate blockbusters of TNT which By the end of the war two atomic bombs had been dropped upon Japan by two bombers. The power of each of these weapons was 1,000 times greater than that of their chemical pre-decessors.

In less than a decade following the end of World War II thermonuclear weapons were developed which multiplied the power of atomic weapons by another factor of 1,000. Today a modern strategic bomber can carry an H-bomb which has the destructive force of 20 million tons of TNT.

Let us represent the explosive power of a World War II blockbuster by a one-foot ruler. On this scale the bomb that demolished Hiroshima would be represented by the height of the Empire State building, and a 20-megaton weapon by the height of the orbit of Sputnik I. One thermonuclear bomb releases more destructive energy than that released by all of the bombs dropped on Germany and Japan during World War II. With the development of the thermonuclear weapon man has begun to deal with the release of quantities of energy comparable in magnitude to the energies involved in many of the large-scale forces of nature observed upon the earth such as hurricanes and earthquakes.

Concurrent with the revolution in the destructive power of explosives, there has been a revolution in the speed of delivery. The maximum speed of the major heavy bombers of World War II was a little over 300 miles per hour. Modern jet long-range bombers can travel at 650 miles per hour. But with the development of the ballistic missile it is now possible to transport thermonuclear explosives at speeds greater than 10,000 miles per hour. In 15 years, the transit time for a bomb flown between Moscow and Washington has been reduced from 16 hours to less than 30 minutes.

War 'Obsolete'

After the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the belief was widespread that war had become obsolete. The atomic bomb, it was believed, had made war so horrible that nations would not dare to go to war again. However, little in the history of war supported this view. Man's ability to rationalize the perpetration of horrors upon his fellows appears to be almost limitless. The "open city" concept feeble but still alive at the end of 1918, had generally been abandoned under the pressures of the relentless Blitzkriegs of the early 1940's. There were a few exceptions such as the sparing of the holy city of Rome by both the Germans and the Allies, but these were largely political decisions, little affected by humanitarianism, ethics, or ideals. Art treasures and cultural artifacts were

(See BOMB, Page 2-A)

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(Continued from Page 1)
poor nations of human
beings in places of attrition.

The wave of revulsion that swept the world after the indiscriminate destruction of Rotterdam and the searing of Coventry was followed by application in kind of what had been learned by the victims about massive aerial destruction. For example, after the most complex planning and preparation the British were able to destroy Hamburg in 1943. Over a 10-day period the German city and 70,000 of its men, women, and children were consumed in a cauldron of fire and high explosives — up to that time the most catastrophic man-caused event in history. Later, mammoth efforts to obliterate Dresden, London, and other cities were only somewhat less successful, but not for lack of diligence on the part of the attackers. The subsequent fire-raids on Tokyo and finally, the atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were accommodated as military necessity with relative ease — supported by the logic which had earlier been developed in Europe. Yet, following the atomic bombings of the Japanese cities, countless persons, including many who were knowledgeable and competent, were convinced that a major war fought with nuclear weapons could well bring the end of civilization.

But the war had not been over long before military leaders had more or less adjusted themselves to the concept of atomic war. Far from being unthinkable, such a war, it was believed, could be fought and won. Soon the Bikini tests were held by the U. S. Navy. The Air Force came to believe that it had an ultimate weapon in its hands, which it could use to impose a Pax Americana. Work was started on developing "small" atomic weapons to be used by the Army for tactical purposes.

With the advent of thermonuclear weapons the belief that war is unthinkable once again came to be widely held. Certainly, it was believed, war is really now too horrible to be fought again. An all-out nuclear war, it was said, could mean not only the death of our civilization — it could mean the death of mankind itself.

'Limited' Wars

This belief was soon attacked. It was argued that although all-out thermonuclear war is unthinkable, there can still be small or "limited" wars. We must do everything within our power to prevent a large-scale nuclear war, but military force as an instrument of national policy is by no means obsolete. It was argued that we must prepare ourselves for limited wars and develop, for this purpose, a variety of tactical atomic weapons. At the same time, the concept of massive retaliation was brought forward as a deterrent to all-out thermonuclear war. No nation, it was asserted, would dare launch a large-scale attack were its leaders convinced that in the process their own cities would be destroyed.

Still more recently we are asked to consider that even all-out thermonuclear war is by no means unthinkable — provided it is not too all-out. Proponents of this view believe that measures can be taken which would save the lives of many individuals in the event of a large-scale attack. It is argued that although such a

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Still more recently we are asked to consider that even all-out thermonuclear war is by no means unthinkable — provided it is not too all-out. Proponents of this view believe that measures can be taken which would save the lives of many individuals in the event of a large-scale attack. It is argued that although such a

war is horrible to contemplate, there could be a sufficiently large number of survivors, and a sufficiently large quantity of undamaged consumer and capital goods and raw materials, to permit the nation to rebuild its economy in a reasonable period of time — say 10 years. If the view that it is possible for a nation to survive a large-scale nuclear war is correct and (even more important) were large numbers of persons to believe this view to be correct, the threat of all-out war would continue to be an important factor governing the relationships between nations. The extent to which the possibility of war would continue to dominate international relations would depend in part upon the extent to which people believe that survival is possible and in part upon the risks which a nation as a whole is willing to take in order to attain a political objective. The purpose of this paper is to inquire into the future assuming that the people of both East and West are willing to take substantial risks, that they believe that a nation can survive a large-scale attack, and that they continue to prepare themselves accordingly. Let us also assume that they energetically prepare themselves to fight limited wars using tactical nuclear weapons. What might the future have in store under these circumstances?

(Tomorrow: The Arms Race)

15-Year Arms Race Has Created Staggering Arsenals For U.S. And Russia

(Second Of A Series)
By HARRISON BROWN
And JAMES REAL

and technology, capabilities for discussions of the Baruch proposal have increased exponentially. The United States has also failed in large measure because the Soviet leadership of interest in the Baruch plan.

For fifteen years we have been in the largest and most frantic arms race that the world has ever known. During this period the Soviet Union and the United States have recognized that war between them is a possibility. Under the circumstances each nation has attempted to put itself When World War II came to an end the United States alone possessed the atomic bomb. This new weapon had come into existence as quickly as it did because of the fear that Germany, with many competent scientists and engineers available, might "get there first." Others foresaw that were they to enter into such an agreement, the imbalance in nuclear military technology might be perpetuated. The Russians pursued the new technology, and by 1951 they had tested three nuclear weapons. We in turn pursued the possibility of thermonuclear devices and car-

war | CREATED IMBALANCE

The atomic bomb created an imbalance in military capability which the Soviet Union was quick to appreciate. It is likely that the

discussions of the Baruch proposals failed in 1948 in large measure because the Soviet lead- lishment of inter-
the United States,
Titan, and Thor.

ESTABLISHED Military expenditures in the United States have increased by 10 percent since 1950.

carried by B-52 bombers. This is drawn to the center of the sizes of bombs that can be carried by missiles are at present smaller. Minuteman and Polaris burning area, elevating the temperature and perpetuating the conflagration. Winds reach hurricane speed.

one-half of the mission debris carried into the stratosphere of the Northern Hemisphere falls to earth within a year.

will probably be able to carry one megaton warheads by the mid-60's. Soviet ICBM warheads and Atlas and Titan will probably be able to carry warheads ranging from five to ten megatons. The local fallout from a ten-megaton explosion could, if spread uniformly, produce lethal levels of radioactivity over about 5,000 square miles of land. Thus, in the absence of some protection against fallout, there could be

BALL OF FIRE **FOLLOW DA**

When a ten-megaton warhead is detonated, roughly a third of its total energy is released in the form of heat and light. The bomb material and surrounding air are heated to extremely high temperatures, and the resultant fireball will have a diameter

The explosion results in the instantaneous emission of nuclear radiation in quantities that can be lethal at distances up to two miles, but since persons in that area would be killed anyway by the blast and thermal effects, many deaths far from the center of the explosion. Indeed, in the event of a large-scale thermonuclear attack and in the absence of radiation protection, far more deaths would result from radiation effects than from heat or blast.

ball grows quickly to a diameter of about 10 cm.

Far more dangerous is the radiation from radioactive products which are produced in the explosion and which are scattered over the countryside as "fallout."

More than 200 different radioactive species are formed in the explosion of a thermonuclear weapon. These attach themselves to the inert debris which is swept into the air by the explosion and which forms the familiar mushroom cloud.

Surface burst of a ten-megaton bomb would produce a crater about 250 feet deep and a half mile wide. The zone of complete demolition would be about three miles in diameter. Severe blast damage would extend to about nine miles from the center of the explosion, and moderate to major

UNITED STATES

Memora

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: March 14, 1961

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: **FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)**

Tolson _____
 Parsons _____
 Mohr _____
 Belmont _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

900/ln
700/k
PJg/k

At the present time the main activity of the Fund for the Republic (FFR) is the publishing of a series of pamphlets by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions located at Santa Barbara, California. According to propaganda put out by the Center, these pamphlets "concern issues which are fundamental to the maintenance of a free society" and are directed "at clarifying basic questions of freedom and justice, especially those constitutional questions raised by the emergence of 20th Century institutions." Among the areas being studied are the economic order, the political process, law, communications, the American character, and war as an institution.

During August, 1960, a discussion of one week's duration was held at the Center on the subject of war as an institution. The discussion centered around two papers prepared specifically for the discussion entitled "A World Without Fear" by Walter Millis and "Community of Fear" by Harrison Brown and James Real. These two papers, later published by the Center in pamphlet form, concern the possibility and results of a nuclear war.

The Center has now published another pamphlet "The Rule of Law in World Affairs" by Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. A copy of this pamphlet was sent to the Director by the FFR on February 23, 1961.

EBR:dds/
 (5)

100-391697

REC-73 100-391697-627
 EX-114 MAR 16 1961

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Reddy

63 MAR 21 1961 163

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 4/13/81 BY SP-16SK/w

UNREFLECTED COPY PRINTED

1-23-26
 9/19/61

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: Fund for the Republic
100-391697

According to the foreword to the pamphlet, Douglas participated in the discussion on war as an institution and "was stimulated to set down some of his thoughts on the law in relation to international affairs." Douglas' pamphlet claims that rational people throughout the world are extremely disturbed over the possibility of planned or accidental nuclear warfare and are being propelled to place their hopes in supranational action to protect the very earth from being destroyed or from being so poisoned by radioactive fall-out that human life could be ended.

Douglas claims that the United Nations (UN) has the potential for creating international law, order and justice that could ultimately unite all nations. He is critical, however, of the fact that the UN excludes groups that should be included, specifically Red China. He notes that although Red China is "an outlaw" because of her aggressive acts against India and Tibet, there is no logic in barring her from the UN since so long as she is kept outside of the UN she cannot be disciplined.

Douglas commented on Khrushchev's actions before the UN General Assembly but claims that Khrushchev does not want to destroy the UN because such action would undoubtedly bring on a nuclear war which would be destructive of all peoples, communists included. Douglas claims that even for communists, force is fast becoming obsolete and Khrushchev knows it as evidenced by his present line that war between communist and noncommunist nations is not inevitable. Douglas concludes that the central problem of this day is the prevention of war and that effective prevention means total disarmament. With war obsolete, the rule of law would remain the sole remedy for the real or fancied wrongs between nations. Douglas concludes "Now that the instruments of destruction have become so awesome that war can no longer be tolerated, the rule of law is our only alternative to mass destruction."

ACTION:

None. This memorandum has been prepared to bring up to date the current activity of the FFR.

J. D. F. OBR

REC-96

628

March 20, 1961

[REDACTED]
Gering, Nebraskab6
b7C

Dear [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10/89 BY 603571af

I have received your letter dated March 7, 1961, and your interest in communicating with me is indeed appreciated.

While I would like to be of assistance, the prescribed functions of the FBI as an investigative agency of the Federal Government do not permit this Bureau to furnish conclusions or evaluations concerning the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. In keeping with this policy, I am precluded from furnishing the material about which you inquired. You should not infer, however, that we do or do not have in our files the information requested by you.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, has prepared and released a pamphlet entitled "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" which may be of interest to you. The pamphlet is currently out of print; however, I am sure you could review a copy of it at your local library.

In view of your interest in the internal security of the United States, I am enclosing some literature which you may wish to read.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Tolson _____
Parsons _____
Mohr _____
Belmont *b7C* _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

57 MAR 27 1961

Enclosures (5)

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

JFF:pw (3)

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b7C

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Bufiles contain no identifiable references to correspondent or "Permanent Peace."

The Fund for the Republic (FFR) has never been investigated by the Bureau; however, numerous persons connected with it have, in the past, had questionable associations with individuals and organizations suspected of subversive affiliations. The Los Angeles Office advised that the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions is an agency of the FFR. (100-391697)

Walter Millis has not been investigated by the FBI; however, he has been a member or affiliated with a number of cited organizations. Both he and the FFR have been frequent critics of the Bureau and Millis authored the pamphlet sponsored by the FFR which attacked Government policies and the FBI, particularly with regard to the loyalty program. (100-421610)

The following items of literature were sent to the correspondent:

1. "Communist Target - Youth."
2. "What You Can do to Fight Communism and Preserve America."
3. "America - Freedom's Champion."
4. "One Nation's Response to Communism."
5. "How to Beat Communism."

b6
b7C

[redacted]
Gering, Nebraska

March 7, 1961

J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-10-89 BY [signature]

// I would like to know if the following two organizations are Communist fronts:

The Fund for the Republic
133 East 54 Street
New York 22, N. Y.

X Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
Box 4068
Santa Barbara, California

A friend of mine has evidently been put on the mailing list (by some unknown person) to receive a series of publications copyrighted by The Fund for the Republic. The latest one received (today) is a 31-page booklet entitled "Permanent Peace" by Walter Millis. 1/5

// Although the back page of this pamphlet lists some prominent names as its Board of Directors, it appears to me to be Communist propaganda. Perhaps you have already been furnished copies of the publications in this series, but I would appreciate very much learning the nature of these two organizations.

I have just recently read your Masters of Deceit.

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]
b6
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// P.S. Is there a list of Communist organizations and Communist front organizations available for distribution?

Act. w/ences.
3-20-61
RDS/pw.

REC-96/00-391697-628 L.R.

12 MAR 21 1961

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UNITED ST.

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT THERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

DATE: 4/17/61

W65
JT

FROM :

SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-59585)

612199

SUBJECT:

"COMMUNITY OF FEAR"
by Harrison Brown and
James Real
SM - C; INFORMATION CONCERNING

OFUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Re Mobile letter to the Bureau dated 2/20/61.

For the information of the Mobile Office, investigation of HARRISON BROWN was conducted by the FBI in 1947 under the Atomic Energy Act - Employee Program. The results of this investigation may be obtained from the Bureau. In addition, the files of this Office contain the following information relating to HARRISON BROWN:

On March 1, 1953, [redacted] advised that the name HARRISON BROWN, Department of Geology, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California, was maintained on the mailing list of the Hollywood Arts, Sciences and Professions Council (see appendix). (S) [u]

b7D

On June 15, 1958, [redacted] (conceal by request), advised that Dr. HARRISON BROWN of Cal Tech was listed on the program of the First Unitarian Church (see appendix), as one of a panel to discuss "Nuclear Sanity and Moral Survival."

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RUC.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Mobile (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles

DLA:fam
(4)

Classified by SP287309
Declassify on: OADR 8-10-78

100-391697-629
REC-94
15 APR 24 1961

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EX-130

Subj. Subj. Cont.

b6
b7C

5 MAY 26 1961

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
LA 100-59585

On 7/15/59, [redacted] advised that at a special meeting of [redacted] of the Valley Chapter of Women for Legislative Action (see appendix) [redacted], it was stated that Dr. HARRISON BROWN, not further identified, would be asked to discuss at their next public meeting on September 10, 1959, the question, "Whom does the First Amendment Protect."

b7D

On 8/17/59, [redacted] advised that at a meeting [redacted] of the Valley Chapter of the Women for Legislative Action.

b7D

on [redacted] North Hollywood, California, HARRISON BROWN, not further identified, was one of the individuals mentioned to be on a panel in September to discuss the situation regarding the teachers being subpoenaed to appear before the HCUA. It was further indicated that BROWN had already been contacted regarding this and had stated he would be unable to appear.

The "Los Angeles Times," a daily Los Angeles newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1948, carried an article entitled "Scientists Assail House Committee" subtitled "Un-American Activities Group Charged with Threatening Atom Research Program." This article reads in part as follows:

"New York, Sept. 6 (U.P.) - A group of leading scientists tonight charged that 'irresponsible smears' by the House Committee on Un-American Activities are 'an imminent threat to our national security' and atomic research program.

LA 100-59585

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
X "The group, headed by Dr. Harrison Brown of the University of Chicago, voiced its views in telegrams to President Truman and Gov. Dewey.

"The telegram to the President said that 'smears' by the Committee has made employment on atomic energy research 'so undesirable' that the number of top scientists in government laboratories is on the verge of reaching a dangerously low level. ..."

N.Y.
On June 6, 1960, U. S. Passport Office, Washington, D.C., advised that HARRISON SCOTT BROWN, [redacted] and residing at [redacted] California, renewed Passport No [redacted] on May 17, 1960, at Los Angeles, California. BROWN proposed to depart San Francisco, California, on June 15, 1960, by Air Quantas for a two weeks trip to England and France for scientific discussions.

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Concerning JAMES REAL, based on the information furnished, a review of the references in the files of the Los Angeles Office, developed no pertinent subversive information identifiable with him.

CAB
It is pointed out that [redacted] of Dr. HARRISON BROWN is [redacted]. [redacted] was an unsuccessful candidate for congress from the 21st California Congressional [redacted]

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CAB

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-59585

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

District in the 1958 election. Concerning [redacted], on April 28, 1960, [redacted] advised that the meeting of the Scientists and Engineers Communist Party Club on April 21, 1960, at [redacted] Los Angeles, California, [redacted] a member of the club, said he had been asked to handle the health aspect of the campaign of [redacted] and that this offered a great opportunity for the Party to have an influence in the campaign.] (X) [u]

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All of the foregoing informants included in this letter have furnished reliable information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH
OF LOS ANGELES, 2936 West Eighth Street, Los
Angeles, California

A source advised on May 16, 1960 that the premises of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles have been utilized for meetings by Communist Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. Speakers and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communist causes or follow the Communist Party line. Communist front group literature is distributed at the church. The church is used by some Communist Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN has been minister of the church since 1948.

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN is described in the Fourth Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, 1948, page 115, as a very active "Communist fronter" and connected with numerous "Communist front organizations and activities."

Membership in the First Unitarian Church does not of itself connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

Source:

[redacted]

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

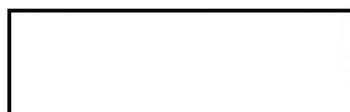
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA CHAPTER OF
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS,
SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS, aka.,
Hollywood Arts, Sciences and
Professions Council

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations" (revised January 2, 1957) page 132, stated this organization is cited as "one of the major Communist dominated propaganda media on the Pacific Coast" (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1955, pages 392 and 393).

An informant advised on January 4, 1956, that the Los Angeles Chapter was dissolved on January 3, 1956.

The National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions has been cited as a "Communist front" by the United States Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report number 1954, dated April 26, 1950.

Informant:



b7D

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

WOMEN FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION

A source advised on May 3, 1960, that the Women for Legislative Action was formed in 1952, claiming to be an independent organization dedicated to non-partisan participation in legislative and civic activities. Its position in favoring or opposing legislation usually parallels the position of the Communist party and related groups. It also supports legislation to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Membership in the Women for Legislative Action does not, of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist party.

Source:



(X)

b7D

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 5/23/61

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTELREGISTERED MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK

SUBJECT: *O* FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC;
PUGWASH CONFERENCES
IS - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-10-89 BY SP8/BTJ/loop

Relet from the Director to Mrs. ALICE WIDENER,
3/31/61, copy of which was forwarded to N.Y.

Relet indicated that Mrs. WIDENER had forwarded to the Director a copy of her article, "The Number One Issue."

Mrs. WIDENER, who is well known to the Bureau, on 5/22/61, advised that [redacted] b6 b7C of the Internal Security Committee of the U.S. Senate, that day had informed her that "a very high official of the Government" had requested two copies of the 3/24/61 issue of "U.S.A.," which carried her article, "The Number One Issue."

[redacted] indicated that this official was particularly interested in what Mrs. WIDENER had written regarding the Pugwash Conferences. b6 b7C

This is being forwarded for the info of the Bureau inasmuch as this indicates that the Bureau may receive some inquiry regarding the Fund for the Republic and the Pugwash Conferences.

REC-61

100-31127-630

4 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (62-11243) (ALICE WIDENER) (413)

AS:gmg
(5)

R.G.W.

EAH/JW

Approved: F. E. PDR Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

56 JUN 5 1961

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

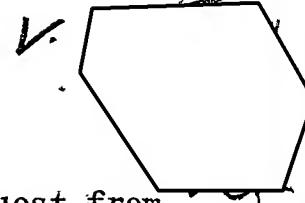
TO : MR. A. ROSEN
 FROM : MR. G. H. SCATTERDAY
 SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
 NAME CHECK REQUEST

DATE: September 29, 1961

b6
b7C

Tolson
 Belmont
 Mohr
 Callahan
 Conrad
 DeLoach
 Evans
 Malone
 Rosen
 Sullivan
 Tavel
 Trotter
 Tele. Room
 Ingram
 Gandy

*cc - Copy to deplane
 11-BT*



The Name Check Section is in receipt of a request from the Office of Cultural Exchange, Department of State, for information in Bureau files concerning the Fund for the Republic (FFR). According to information received from State, the FFR wants permission to bring foreigners into the United States to study at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions located at Santa Barbara, California. This is in connection with an "Exchange-Visitor Program."

The FFR has never been investigated by the Bureau although its activities have been followed since it began operating in approximately 1953. The FFR was originally financed by a \$15,000,000 grant from the Ford Foundation and has as its stated objectives (1) a desire to advance the understanding of civil liberties; (2) to keep the American citizen advised as to what his rights are, what is happening to them, and to arouse interest in civil liberties; and (3) to report current information on the status of freedom in this country. Since its inception the FFR has been sharply criticized by numerous well-known reporters and public officials, including David Lawrence; George Sokolsky; Fulton Lewis, Jr.; Walter Winchell; various Congressmen; the American Legion; and editorial writers of newspapers throughout the United States. The criticism has been mainly on the following points:

- (1) The FFR's assumption that the Communist Party, USA, is not a threat to our security but is merely another political party.
- (2) The FFR's employment of individuals who have a background of affiliation with questionable organizations.
- (3) The FFR's activities as a political and propaganda agency rather than a tax-exempt foundation.

In 1956 the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) announced it would hold hearings to determine whether the FFR was a "friend or foe" in the struggle against communism. Later that same year, it was announced the intended hearings had been canceled; however, during July, 1956, limited testimony was heard in connection with two

1 - Mr. WC Sullivan 1 - Mr. EB Reddy
 1 - Mr. Rosen 1 - Name Check Section

OCT 9

DRR:fjb-(5)

Enclosure

67 OCT 9 - 1961

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8-10-89 BY 008515108

6/11/89

Memorandum to Mr. Rosen
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

phases of FFR activities. Witnesses were called to testify concerning the FFR's backing of a report prepared with regard to "blacklisting" in the radio and television industry, and a portion of the testimony presented refuted the statements made in the report as being untrue and following the communist line. Witnesses were also called concerning the awarding by the FFR of \$5,000 to the Plymouth Quaker Meeting House, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, for its action in retaining Mary Knowles as town librarian (Knowles had been fired from a previous job as librarian at Norwood, Massachusetts, after she took the Fifth Amendment before an investigating committee. She had been identified as a Communist Party member, 1945-47, by Herbert Philbrick in his testimony before a congressional committee in 1953).

In March, 1961, the Los Angeles Office advised that the main activity of the FFR at that time was the publication of a series of pamphlets by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions concerning "issues which are fundamental to the maintenance of a free society." Illustrative of these publications was a pamphlet "The Rule of Law in World Affairs" by Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, which pamphlet decried nuclear warfare and stressed that the only means of effective prevention is total disarmament, leaving the rule of law as the sole remedy for real or fancied wrongs between nations.

Each year the FFR has published reports summarizing its activities and stating its policies and future plans.

ACTION:

Attached is a memorandum for dissemination to the State Department in response to its current request wherein State is advised that we have never investigated the FFR; however, the activities of the FFR have been the subject of considerable controversy and publicity. In addition, State is referred to the published reports of the FFR and to HCUA records wherein considerable criticism of the Fund's activities is contained.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum be returned to the Name Check Section for dissemination to the Department of State in response to its name check request.

1 - Mr. WC Sullivan
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. EB Reddy
1 - Name Check Section

October 3, 1961

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

An investigation has been conducted by the FBI pertinent to your inquiry concerning the captioned organization; however, the files of this Bureau reveal that the activities of this organization have been the subject of considerable controversy and publicity since its inception.

For detailed information concerning the stated policies and activities of the Fund for the Republic, you may wish to review the annual published reports prepared by the Fund. You may also wish to review the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) concerning testimony of witnesses in hearings before that Committee in July, 1956, concerning certain Fund activities.

On July 17, 1956, Chairman Francis L. Walter of the HCUA commented as follows concerning hearings before that Committee the previous week with regard to the Fund for the Republic's report on "blacklisting" practices in the entertainment field:

"The hearings last week left no doubt that the Fund for the Republic's report is a partisan, biased attack on all persons and organizations who are sincerely and patriotically concerned in ridding the movie industry and the radio and television industry of Communists and Communist sympathizers. We have learned that, contrary to the report of the Fund for the Republic, it is not so-called 'blacklisting' which constitutes a grave menace in the entertainment industry; the real menace is the use of Communist tactics designed to capture America's vast media of communication and information for the Communists."

"The Fund for the Republic in its report cited a number of examples of persons it wished to believe were deprived of employment because of the sinister machinery of blacklisting.

ORIGINAL AND 1 - State Department

DRR:fjb

(7)

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE 2

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This is in answer to your request for a check of FBI files.

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

- 37172 -

Fund for the Republic

"In order to determine the facts the committee has subpoenaed several of the so-called victims of blacklisting by the report. I might add that for curious reasons some of the named unfortunates who have supposedly been blacklisted are at the moment very much employed. As a matter of fact, a couple of them might not be able to appear, because they are too busy professionally."

On July 18, 1956, Chairman Walter made the following statement concerning hearings before the Committee on a \$5,000 award to the Plymouth Quaker Meeting House, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, for its action in retaining an alleged former Communist Party member in the position of town librarian:

"The committee wishes to examine another aspect in connection with the activity of the Fund for the Republic, whose largess in this instance has reached into the Philadelphia area. The committee wishes to know more about the factors which prompted the Fund for the Republic to consider the reteation of a Communist, a defense of 'democratic principles' worth \$5,000 of its tax-exempt money.

"The Communists and their dupes will undoubtedly try to distort our inquiry into appearing as an interference with the great freedom of religion. I want to emphasize at this time that the committee is not interested in inquiring into any of the activities of a religious organization. Our sole concern is with the seemingly dubious ventures of the Fund for the Republic, Inc." (100-391697-436)

NOTE: Detailed comments made by Chairman Walter inserted in memorandum furnished State per conversation with Assistant to the Director Belmont.

1 - Mr. WC Sullivan
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. EB Reddy
1 - Name Check Section

October 2, 1961

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

No investigation has been conducted by the FBI pertaining to your inquiry concerning the captioned organization; however, the files of this Bureau reveal that the activities of this organization have been the subject of considerable controversy and publicity since its inception.

For detailed information concerning the stated policies and activities of the Fund for the Republic, you may wish to review the annual published reports prepared by the Fund. You may also wish to review the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities concerning testimony of witnesses in hearings before that Committee in July, 1956, concerning certain Fund activities.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-10-89 BY SP3 BSL/jas

ORIGINAL AND 1 - STATE DEPARTMENT
DRR:fjb
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Tolson _____

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Belmont _____
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Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This is in answer to your request for a check of FBI files.

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

100-24677-16

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: October 5, 1961

FROM :

R. W. Smith *SWS*

SUBJECT:

~~THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
BOOK REVIEW: THE SOCIAL BASIS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM~~~~CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER~~SYNOPSIS:

Captioned book, reviewed by Central Research Section, is eighth in a series of studies financed by Ford Fund for the Republic to survey communist influence in American life. The book is both a history and analysis of membership of the Communist Party from its beginnings to the mid-1950's. Author takes "sociological" approach to examine various elements from which Party expended recruiting efforts and the response of the groups to these efforts. He concludes that while Party efforts were successful at some times and among some groups, over-all, communism in America was a failure. References to Director and FBI are not derogatory, but mainly are quoted membership statistics taken from public records. [redacted] not investigated by Bureau, but several references noted in Bufiles. In February, 1960, one [redacted] and three others wrote letter to editor of New York Times urging clemency for Harry Gold, Morton Sobell, and David Greenglass.

b6
b7CRECOMMENDATION:

For information.

AKH:ims

(7)

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Baumgardner

1 - [redacted] b6
1 - [redacted] b7C

1 - Section tickler

*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-10-09 BY SP3 PSB/STJ/JL*

REC-13

100-391697-632

OCT 11 1961

XEROX

OCT 12 1961

62 OCT 16 1961 JKT

CENTRAL RESEARCH

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 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
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Memorandum Smith to Sullivan
Re: The Fund for the Republic Book Review
The Social Basis of American Communism
[redacted]

b6
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DETAILS:

Book Sponsored by Fund for the Republic

The Social Basis of American Communism, by Nathan Glazer, published in August, 1961, by Harcourt, Brace and World, Incorporated, New York City, has been reviewed by the Central Research Section.

N.Y. This book is the eighth in a series of studies on communism in American life under the general editorship of Clinton L. Rossiter. The project was begun in January, 1955, when the Ford Fund for the Republic allocated funds for the series. (100-391697-651) *N.Y.*

A Study of Party Membership

The book is both a history and an analysis of the membership of the Communist Party up to the mid-1950's. This "special study of the membership," as the author states in his introduction, aids in understanding communism in America because membership, and its "social composition," is a most important aim of any Communist Party. He says that, according to communist theory, the two main targets of Communist Party efforts to recruit should be the most exploited and most repressed workers. In the United States, the industrial workers and the Negroes. However, in American reality, these groups did not prove to be most responsive.

Author's Approach

The author takes a "sociological" approach to examine each of the various groups of people from which he says the Party obtained its greatest response. Devoting a chapter to each group, they are: (1) the elements, mainly in the Socialist Party of World War I, from which the first members of the Communist Party were drawn; (2) the immigrant workers who made up the greater part of the Party during the twenties; (3) the native-born workers and the workers in trade unions; (4) the middle-class and professional groups increasingly prominent in the late thirties and forties; and (5) the Negroes whose recruitment became intense after World War II.

Memorandum Smith to Sullivan

Re: The Fund for the Republic Book Review
The Social Basis of American Communism

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The author sets forth a flood of statistics, including 42 pages of notes, comments, and sources, on Party membership for the various ethnic and social groups to show the Party's successes and failures to influence these groups.

Author's Conclusions

While pointing out partial success by the Party during various periods, the author concludes that, "over-all, communism in America was a failure." His reasons are that in America, even the most oppressed and most miserable could see that the normal processes of American democracy could give them more than the communists ever could. Self-interest, which according to the communists' own theory should be the spur that brings the masses to them, operated here to drive them away. And so the communists had to resort to the special quirks of history that made some groups, at some times, open to them; they operated in these openings with their mixture of organizational skill and moral blindness, and achieved some successes. But in the end, these strains and twists in American democracy were insufficient to give them lasting success.

Mention of the Director and the FBI

The Director and the FBI are mentioned several times in the book, though not critically or derogatorily. In the introduction (p. 12), the author states the perfect material for this study could only be found in the possession of the FBI or the CP, USA. The Director is mentioned (p. 179), and the FBI (pp. 93, 116), but in each case, these are FBI estimates of Party membership which the author has extracted from Congressional reports or the book, Report on the American Communist, by Ernst and Loth.

The Author

According to book jacket, [redacted]
[redacted] graduated from City College in 1944, and received his A. M. from the University of Pennsylvania the same year. He has taught at the University of California in Berkeley, Bennington College, Smith College, and Columbia University. He is the author and coauthor of several books and contributes regularly to a number of magazines.

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Memorandum Smith to Sullivan

Re: The Fund for the Republic Book Review
The Social Basis of American Communism

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Bufiles reveal that no investigation has been made on author; however, there are several references to him. (1) He is the author of "A New Look at the Rosenberg-Sobell Case" which appeared in The New Leader, July 2, 1956 (65-58236-A). (2) During April and May, 1959, [redacted] Bennington College, appeared on a list of subscribers to the Peking Review, a strongly procommunist English language publication printed in Peking, China (100-394984-6317). (3) [redacted] and three other individuals wrote a letter to the editor of the New York Times, February 16, 1960, urging an act of clemency to free Harry Gold, Morton Sobell, and David Greenglass (101-2483-A).

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Clinton L. Rossiter

Clinton L. Rossiter, head of the study project on communism in American life financed by the Ford Fund for the Republic, is chairman of the Government Department at Cornell University.

Bufiles indicate that Rossiter was disapproved for security clearance, following an investigation by another Government agency which conducts intelligence investigations, because he gave as a reference a person who had been listed as one of the individuals controlling the American Russian Institute, of Hollywood, California. The American Russian Institute has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (116-78904-26; Monograph, The Fund for the Republic, Inc., pp. 49, 96)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~SECRET~~~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

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 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WC*

DATE: October 30, 1961

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland *JFB*

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

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- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Scatterday
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Coll

Classified by *SP 2011000*
Declassify on: OADR *8-10-80*b6
b7C*Rodzicki
6/23/78*

SECURITY MATTER - C

United Press International release dated [REDACTED] indicated that a private study published [REDACTED], written by [REDACTED] expert [REDACTED] and published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, maintained that American fears regarding Russia are "not only distorted but hardened beyond reason." With reference to [REDACTED] and the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, the Director asked "What do our files show on these? H"

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[REDACTED] is on the Reserve Index. He was born [REDACTED] in [REDACTED], and in 1961 was a professor at [REDACTED] California. He reportedly has obtained the position of [REDACTED] Professor at [REDACTED] for the academic year of 1961-1962.

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[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were associates of the late William Walter Remington, a subject in the Silvermaster case who was convicted of perjury for having denied that he was ever a member of the Communist Party. [REDACTED] has also associated with [REDACTED] [u] [REDACTED], and [REDACTED] correspondents, and numerous other individuals of interest to the Bureau in the security field. In recent years he has been in contact, on several occasions, with various [REDACTED] some of whom are suspected intelligence agents. and also numerous [REDACTED] In 1961 an article prepared by [REDACTED] captioned "War and Peace and the Problem of Berlin" espoused the communist line and was most critical of the United States' position on the Berlin situation. He recently has appeared before various groups and in lectures has criticized the United States' position with regard to the Russian Government.

100-391697-633

EX-104

RECEIVED

100-391697-633

IN

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

By way of background, [REDACTED] is a graduate of the University of [REDACTED] and served with the [REDACTED] in 1966 and the United States Navy during World War II. Prior to World War II, he was employed by the "World Herald" in [REDACTED], the [REDACTED] as a correspondent in the Washington Branch, and also with the [REDACTED] Subsequent to World War II, he was employed by the United States Department of State and various universities throughout the United States, including the position of [REDACTED]

LBC: bay 309 (6) Nov 7 1961 Nov 7 1961

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SUBV. CON

Memorandum for Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: [redacted]

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Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

No investigation has been conducted by the FBI concerning the above organization. However, the following information appears in Bureau files.

The ~~Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions~~ is located at ~~Santa Barbara, California~~. According to publications of the Center, it is a nonprofit educational enterprise established by the Fund for the Republic to promote the principles of individual liberty expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The Center is now the main activity of the Fund for the Republic, Incorporated. Further, according to the Center's statement, contributors to publications issued under the auspices of the Center are responsible for their statements of fact and expressions of opinions. The Center holds itself responsible only for determining that the material should be presented to the public as a contribution to the discussion of the Free Society. Consultants to the Center include Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief, "Time," "Life," "Fortune;" Robert M. Hutchins, president, Fund for the Republic, Incorporated; and various educators throughout the United States.

RECOMMENDATION:

This is being submitted in accordance with the Director's request.

*PB
JEP
WMS
WHD
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~~SECRET~~

REC-4

106-39177-634 November 15, 1961

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[REDACTED] Charleston, South Carolina

Dear [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-10-89 BY SP3/BT/100

I have received your letter of November 11, with enclosures, and appreciate the interest prompting you to write.

With respect to your inquiry, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, neither makes evaluations nor draws conclusions as to the character or integrity of any organization, publication or individual. Please do not infer in this connection either that we do or do not have information in our files concerning the subjects about which you asked.

Enclosed is some literature on the general subject of communism you may like to read.

Sincerely yours,

L. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover
Director



Enclosures (4)

What Does the Future Hold?

Faith In God--Our Answer To Communism

The Deadly Contest

The Communist Party Line

NOTE: We have had no previous correspondence with [REDACTED]
He is possibly identical with one [REDACTED] in Texas,
who was a signer of a letter dated 1-14-53 to President Truman. This
letter appealed for amnesty for Smith Act victims. Bufiles indicate that

(Continued next page)

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Tele. Room _____
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RVA:pjt (3)

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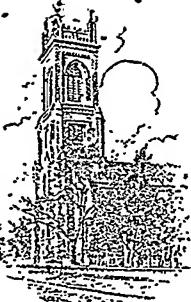
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[redacted]
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the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (CSDI) is an agency for the Fund for the Republic (FR). Bufiles contain no derogatory information concerning Dr. Reinhold Neibuhr and we have had no correspondence with him. We have not investigated the CSDI, FR or Dr. Neibuhr. FR, however, is very well known to the Bureau, and several officials of this organization have been associated with various front groups in the past.

[redacted]'s enclosures are copies of correspondence he and [redacted] of Westfield, Massachusetts, had with the "News and Courier," Charleston, South Carolina, concerning Dr. Neibuhr. [redacted] was attacking Neibuhr while [redacted] was supporting him. The other enclosure, "The Conquest of Inner Space," is a sermon given by [redacted] and concerns the necessity for man to learn to control himself.

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"The Oldest Unitarian Church in the South"

The Unitarian Church

in

Charleston, S. C.

[Redacted]

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11 November 1961

MINISTER'S OFFICE
8 ARCHDALE STREET
CHARLESTON 13, S. C.

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Belmont	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Callahan	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Conrad	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. DeLoach	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Evans	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Malone	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Sullivan	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tavel	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Trotter	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Ingram	<input type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Of recent date, I wrote a letter to our local Newspaper in defence of a conference held in Washington by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. I believe that this center is financed by the Fund for the Republic.

I also spoke a word in behalf of Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr who participated in this conference. It seems that to mention his name is to be associated with the Red Menace. This gives me concern as a citizen and as a Minister.

Could you make clear to me whether the Fund for the Republic, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions or Dr. Niebuhr are organically related to the Communist Party, or whether they are considered dangerous to our Government? Should people shun participation in these organizations and from having fellowship with Dr. Niebuhr?

I am sincerely concerned.

Yours truly,

[Redacted]

Charleston, S. C.

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5 November 1961

The Editor
News and Courier
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3-10-89 BY 003 BUL

We evidently owe [redacted] a debt of gratitude for exposing the true nature of Reinhold Niebuhr. I have read this man's books for years in which he has urged the people of America to return to the essence of the Christian Faith, as a matter of fact to its orthodox framework. Now, we are informed that he must be dangerous to America for the particular opinions that he has expressed and for associating with the people of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions which has received financial support from the Fund for the Republic.

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I believe that [redacted] information should be passed on to Mr. Edward L. Cushman, Vice President of American Motors, [redacted], Chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, [redacted] General Manager, WBAI-FM of New York City, the [redacted] of Yale Divinity School.

Executive Editor of American Heritage, [redacted] Director of the Professional Services Branch of the National Institute of Mental Health, Associate William O. Douglas of the Supreme Court of the United States and [redacted] Society of Jesus of Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. All of these persons attended and participated in the Conference on American Character.

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I believe further that [redacted] information should be passed on to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation so that the Rev. Dr. Niebuhr and the Fund for the Republic can be thoroughly investigated and if found dangerous to America so exposed so that well meaning public servants will not become contaminated by them.

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There was one question that came to me about the copy of [redacted] letter that was sent to me. On the outside there is a label pasted that says, "This is not a republic, not a democracy--let's keep it that way." Could it be that the organization that [redacted] belongs to and the Fund for the Republic trying to bring more centralized government to America by this emphasis. Are they trying to curb the freedoms of the people by this emphasis?

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Also, my statement was that I am delighted when any group of people sit down and think together about the character of America, not just sit.

Sincerely yours, [redacted]

100-3940-17 - 11
ENCLOSURE

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[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

Copy

WESTFIELD, MASS.

PHONE LOGAN 2-2049

[REDACTED]

31 October 1961

To the Editor of the News & Courier.

Sir:-

It is difficult to comprehend a minister praising a man like Niebuhr or an organization like the Fund for the Republic, unless I take Lenin's appraisal of them, when he said "religious people are the most gullible."

The number one target of the Communist Party is the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Mr. Niebuhr signed a petition asking for its abolition. He also signed a petition asking for clemency for the convicted Communist Norton Sobel, an enemy of the United States.

As for the Fund for the Republic, Mr. Osborne would be hard put to it, to name one loyal act of that \$1,000,000 outfit. Not one of its dollars ever went for anything that would strengthen the sovereignty of the United States.

Mr. Osborne's closing sentence in his letter to the N.C.I. "I am delighted when any group of people sit down and think together" reminds me of the Maine couple who were asked how they passed the long winters. Their answer "Sometimes we just sit. Sometimes we just think. Other times we sit and think."

[REDACTED]

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-10-89 BY [REDACTED] Jaf

100-37647-

Recently we pondered the subject of Stars, Ethics and Survival. Harlowe Shapley gave us some insight into the magnitude of outer space and our place in it. It is a humbling experience to see how really small the earth is in comparison. It floods our own minds anew with questions as to man's significance and importance. However, small and insignificant as man is in relationship to the vastness of the universe, yet he is the would be conqueror of outer space. He is set to win this conquest, and regardless of who is and will be the first in all of these gigantic explorations, he is going to be there.

Today, I would turn us about face and think of the opposite. It is not the conquest of outer space, but the conquest of inner space. What man does ultimately with the technocracy that helps him to explore outer space will ultimately be determined by what he does with his own interior. So much, mankind has done in the control of environmental forces! I do not question the fact that one day he will be able to control the weather. I do question whether he will learn enough about the inner control of himself to keep from flooding one area and drying up the other.

Erich Fromm states this problem in his book, Psychoanalysis and Religion. "Never before has man come so close to the fulfillment of his most cherished hopes as today! Our scientific discoveries and technical achievements enable us to visualize the day when the table will be set for all who want to eat, a day when the human race will form a unified community and no longer live as separate entities. Thousands of years were needed for this unfolding of man's intellectual capacities, of his growing ability to organize society and to concentrate his energies purposefully. Man has created a new world with its own laws and destiny. Looking at his creation, he can truly say, it is good."

But looking at himself what can he say? Has he come closer to realization of another dream of mankind, that of the perfection of man? Of man loving his neighbor, doing justice, speaking truth, and realizing that which potentially is, an image of God? Raising the question is embarrassing since the answer is so painfully clear. While we have created wonderful things we have failed to make of ourselves beings for whom this tremendous effort would seem worthwhile. Ours is a life not of brotherliness, happiness, contentment but of spiritual chaos and bewilderment dangerously close to a state of madness - not the hysterical kind of madness which existed in the Middle Ages but a madness akin to schizophrenia in which the contact with inner reality is lost and thought is split from affect." p. 1,2.

This is it! It is the turmoil of the inner life of man as it weaves and bobs between the demands that his own organism makes, as over against the demands of his environment and his ideals. Here was the frustration of Paul the Apostle when he said, "O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Here was the plea of the Rich Young Ruler who came to Jesus inquiring, "What must I do to inherit eternal life?" There is so much of the inner hunger to be at rest, to be at peace with one's self, to be able to fit into the total structure of things, but at the same time an immobility in the face of the demanding ideals of life.

This is the concern of religion. Whether, on the one hand, it is a Priestly Religion like that of Levictus where the proper sacrifice must be offered or whether it be of the Roman Catholic who attends the daily offering of the Mass, or whether it be the simplicity of the teaching of a prophet like Michah or Jesus to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind and with all thy strength and thy neighbor as yourself. All of it is concerned with the conquest of man's inner space, the rulership of himself. This is the area that must be conquered if the outerspace world is to be known and appreciated by earth man.

It cannot be said that man is not concerned about his problem. The return to religion gives evidence that he is seeking through the age old channels to find the peace of his god that will pass all understanding and give him peace. The fact that the date book of the Psychoanalyst and the Psychiatrist are filled so far ahead that it takes at least two weeks and sometimes months to get an appointment is an indication that those who can seek and afford this kind of therapy are in search of the conquest of their inner lives. Others have to resort to the synthetic approach of the tranquilizer or some other drug form to quiet the physical organism and thus help them to have a few moments of rest from the chaos of their inner life.

One does not want to judge, but the situation of our collective life would raise

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DATE 8-10-97 BY SP/SP/SP/SP

the question of whether we are meeting the need. The collective life of society outside of these areas would also raise the question of whether we want man to have sanity. We hear principles of love and justice preached in church. We assent to them, but as soon as we leave, we are in a world that says that one who tries to live by such ideals is a visionary and not a realist. There is a sense in which all of this is most discouraging. The contradiction we feel within ourselves, and the chaos that is evident from without. However, I raise the question, is it not true that we are on our way toward the conquest of inner space when we recognize that the emotional life of man has needs that must be fulfilled? We are no longer allowing ourselves to gloss over the void that exists. We are no longer allowing ourselves to accept the easy solution concept, the black magic formula of either psychology or religion. We are determined in the areas of psychotherapy and religion to face it head on, and to find an answer.

The recognition of the need moves us toward a greater endeavor to meet the need. Think of the progress that has been made in dealing with mental and emotional illness. It has not been too long since we were subscribing to the idea of demon possession and witchcraft concepts about those who were suffering from the illness of the emotions and the mind. It is upon this foundation of recognition that I would urge our cooperation in the effort to know more about ourselves and thus find the way to control ourselves.

There is a very real sense in which man cannot conquer the area of inner space so long as his social fabric does not recognize the need for its conquest. It would be a struggle too long and arduous for one individual to make the effort. He needs the collective support that comes when others like himself feel assured that the battle can be won.

At one and the same time, the person who recognizes that he has an area of life that needs to be brought under control, must believe that it can be done. Over the years in the ministry, the thing that has impressed me about myself and others when we have been in the depths of our human problems is the cloud that shuts out the light of hope. We are so overcome. We are so burdened by the depression of it all that we cannot feel that there will ever be relief. We are buffeted by the storm and stress of our emotional upheavals, and there does not appear a ray of sun that would seem to indicate that the storm will pass.

We have learned that there is great value in group therapy. Here persons who have felt the rage of the inner life. They have known the sense of defeat in that they seemed controlled rather than controlling life. But they found an answer. They sit down with each other and share the hope that they have found. They assure a fellow human being that they have fought through the maze and smoke of it all and at last a beach head has been established. They look forward to new achievements.

There is no group in our modern society who has proved this point more than Alcoholics Anonymous. Some of the prominent persons in our society today would still be the victims of compulsive drinking if it were not for the first two men, drunks, who found a way to sobriety and determined to share it with others.

This leads me to point out some of the ways that persons have been able to win the area of the inner life. First, it is necessary to admit to one's self and sometimes to another person that there are problems that seem to master us. Our social environment seems to help us to build resistance against the kind of personal honesty that will help us to admit to ourselves that we have problems. We have led people to accept the illusion that a rational human being ought to be able to stand up bravely and conquer. Well, it would be fine if we could, and sometimes we can. All too often we can't see the answer. The problems confound themselves and we are overcome. But more tragic than the problem is the fact that we do not want to admit to ourselves that it exists.

This is where the false solutions come into being. It is always easier to deaden the pain with some sort of anesthetic. The highball has been the false support to the behind the eight ball of inferiority. The tranquilizer has become the short cut to the real solution.

Not every one resorts to a synthetic process such as drink and drugs. There are many forms of escape. How many men in our society work themselves to death because they are trying to keep the issues of marital difficulties, finances or deep seated personal problems from coming to the surface of their minds? They take no time for rest and relaxation because they can't stand the idle moments that may come. The inner turbulence becomes so apparent that life becomes intolerable. So

they work, work, work! But men are not the only victims of the forces that drive. Women have their share. It is a lot easier to clean the house from top to bottom every day than it is to face the untidiness of the inner life. The praise of the people for all of the volunteer work that one does is a lot easier to accept than it is to win self approval by working on one's self. There is an awful lot of the social whirl when alalyzed becomes the outward evidence of an inner whirl of the emotional life.

Here we are then faced with the false supports to our weakened inner self. Why not admit the problem? There are all sorts and conditions of men and women all around us who will be quick to share their solution or at least to admit that they are fellow sufferers. Once the Rubicon of self admission is crossed there are great numbers of people who experience immediate relief. Temporary it may be, but it is relief. It is the beach head that is absolutely necessary if wider areas are going to be taken.

Running through all of therapy is the need to pour out the inner life to another person. How many people have said to me that they can see the value of the Roman Catholic sacrament of penance? I think that I have read somewhere that there are less catholics in need of psychotherapy than non-catholics. I would not be surprised if this were true. I am not so sure that I want their ultimate answers, but many people find great value in confession. It was for this reason that I built a confessional into the last Episcopal Church that I had. It was not used widely, but it was used.

Much study and work has been done in the field of personal counseling. There are various schools of thought as to how best one can be helped in the counseling session whether it should be directive or non-directive. The thing that is common to all is that one needs to find a person who can listen with the third ear. It is the ear of understanding, of empathetical relationship so that the end result is the feeling that we are known, that we are understood. It has been my experience that some find their answers when it is played back to them in words that indicate that their problem is understood. There are others who will have to have more direct guidance for they seem to have little strength to help themselves.

Along with the sense of understanding is the lack of judgment that seems to be needed. The threat that has been made to the inner life of many has been the great reason that they would never admit to themselves that a problem exists.

Liberal religion has been quick to learn this from the probers of the psyche. We are branded as people who do not believe in sin. I would rather prefer to be related to him who said to the woman caught in a breach of social ethics, "Does no man condemn thee, and she said, no man, Lord. Neither do I condemn thee, go and sin no more."

The infection that has captured the citadel of the soul can be released only if the threat of judgement is removed. This is a categorical statement that I doubt can be disproved as far as the healing of the soul is concerned.

There is another attack that must be made in the conquest of the inner space of our lives. It is in the reeducation of our emotions. Certain learned experiences of childhood and youth has produced reactions of fear, anger and anxiety much like Pavlov's dog expressing signs of hunger when the bell was rung. All through our early learning years we have had these expressions labeled as bad. They have been judged so that the inner turmoil is compounded. Inferiority feelings have to be unlearned and feelings of security and those of satisfaction in acceptance have to be built into the emotional structure of the person.

The presence of the Truant Officer, Policeman, Foreman or Father can produce feelings of panic. The relationships of authority have produced fear, a desire to run away or to stand with trembling when these persons enter our realm of experience. The persons in the same positions of authority who were kind, understanding and loving were not made known to us like the ones who incited the opposite feelings. What a difference it makes to learn the association and identification that we have made with persons who expressed themselves in a negative manner! Slowly, but surely we can learn that there is loving authority.

There was a man who frequented my study on a number of occasions who had been taught in his childhood the judgmental aspects of the Heavenly Christ, that he would come to judge the wicked and that if he wanted to be saved he would have to be different than he was. It had so effected this man's life that to mention

the phrase Jesus Christ nearly threw him into a painful rage. Here was the most loving symbol of the Christian religion that had been distorted by some misinformed teacher. The whole area had to be unlearned and relearned.

The feelings of insecurity in meeting new people can many times be traced to unfortunate experiences with persons that had been contacted for the first time. The sense of loneliness and isolation that is experienced by the average individual is easily dissipated when some one comes up, puts out a hand and says, "I am Bill Doaks!" A reception of this sort on a number of occasions is all that is needed to make an extrovert out of an introvert.

I have often used the illustration of a tennis racquet to describe the personal expressions of people. There are those who are like the aggressive bully that is always bouncing people off in the wrong direction, rebuffing them because their inner structuring is too tight. They cannot control the reactions of others to them for they are always driving them away in areas that they did not want them to go.

There are others who cannot hit the ball at all. They strike out with their feeble and puny efforts and nothing happens. They are the Casper MilqueToasts. They are strung up so loosely that they do nothing but evade and avoid.

These situations are recognized as two of the opposite types of persons in our social experience. These people are unhappy within themselves and ineffective in their dealings with others. Like a tennis racquet they have to be unstrung and restrung. It is a long and difficult process, but one that has proved so rewarding for many people. After the process they are then able to hit the ball with reasonable control. They feel a certain sense of inner satisfaction that they are in control of life rather than that they are under its control.

Well, you may be saying, "And what does this have to do with religion?" It has this to do with it as far as I am concerned. The creativity of life, call it God, certainly does not indicate a desire to have people live in misery. It does seem that life has the aspects of wanting and desiring beauty. Thus I would say that as I observe life there is every reason to believe that God wants mankind to have command of their inner selves. Is this not the thing that traditional religion speaks and sings about when it refers to the peace of God that passes all understanding? There it is in the Bible in hymnology, and in the books that religious leaders have written about Peace of Mind and Peace of Soul. No denomination has a corner on it and all of them profess to be able to help you to find it.

How often we have been urged to read the Bible. Too bad that so many have felt that this was an insurance premium that had to be paid and thus there was such compulsion to do it. All of this began because in it are the experiences of others who have conquered the area of inner space. It tells of the assurance that came to the Shepherd as he thought of God as shepherd. It gave the sense of security to those who found in God a heavenly Father. Prayer is the same. It is not a duty that God has desired from the children of men and thus he has insisted that they talk to him. Here is the method, the experience, the way by which others have calmed the trouble sea of the heart. In a quiet place inside or outside, in a temple or on a hill, they have meditated and communed with the Universe or the God of the Universe and have gained the insight that has won the inner battle..

You can see the relationship, and I simply underscore it for you. Most of us will never make it to the Moon or Mars and we care less whether we enter into outer space conquest. There are few if any of us who do not desire this day the winning of the battle of the heart!

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

J1) Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-391697)

DATE: 11/20/61

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (62-11509)

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC;
CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF
DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS
INFORMATION CONCERNING

There is enclosed herewith for the Bureau a copy of an article entitled "Background of a Centerman" by Mrs. ALICE WIDENER, publisher of "U.S.A." magazine.

A Photostat of the same article is enclosed for the Los Angeles Office.

For the information of Los Angeles, Mrs. WIDENER is a publisher who is well known to the Bureau. She has written several articles most complimentary to both the Director and the Bureau.

The enclosed article by Mrs. WIDENER discusses a pamphlet "U.S. Foreign Policy and the Soviet Union" by [REDACTED] and published 10/30/61, by the Fund for the Republic's Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, California.

b6
b7C

3-Bureau (100-391697)(FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC)(Encl.1)
(1-105-38558) [REDACTED]
3-Los Angeles (105-3906) [REDACTED] (Encl.1)(INFO)(RM)
1-New York (105-13606) [REDACTED]
1-New York (62-11243)(ALICE WIDENER)(413) [REDACTED] b6
1-New York (62-11509) [REDACTED] b7C

AS:jbb
(9)

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-10-89 BY SP301000 391697-635
22 NOV 24 1961

ENCLOSURE

Central

64 NOV 28 1961

NY 62-11509

Mrs. WIDENER's article states that [redacted] has expressed the opinion that the belief that the "Soviet Union is militarily aggressive", is without foundation. Mrs. WIDENER questioned the type of advice [redacted] furnished the State Department while he was consultant on Russian affairs and "chief foreign research" on Eastern Europe for the State Department from 1946 to 1949.

b6
b7C

She also stated in the article that the Fund for the Republic's disclaimer of the views subsidized and published by the Fund is standard operating procedure for so-called "responsible" tax exempt [redacted] "practicing the worst sort of irresponsible intellectual hocus-pocus".

For the information of the Bureau and Los Angeles.

ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU(1)
Bufile 100-391697
NY file 62-11509

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-10-89 BY SP8B5J10fj

0-311677-635

ENCLOSURE

COPY FROM U.S.A. SYNDICATE, 829 Park Avenue, New York 21, New York

FOR RELEASE: Tuesday, November 7, 1961

BACKGROUND OF A CENTER MAN

by ALICE WIDENER
Publisher, U.S.A. Magazine

NEW YORK CITY: Each time our country emerges from a cold or hot war defeat -- as in China, Korea and Cuba -- the White House passes the buck to the State Department. Eventually, it issues a bland white paper absolving all top U.S. officials from any blame. Loftily, the State Department explains that during this or that international crisis our Government acted on the well-meant advice of "qualified experts." Usually the American people are left in ignorance about the identity and background of these "experts."

In the present Berlin crisis, if our country meets with defeat, patriotic Americans will be able to identify at least one of the main appeasers and know all about his background. His name is Dr. Fred Warner Neal and his startling views can be found in the pamphlet "U.S. Foreign Policy and the Soviet Union" published October 30, 1961 by the Fund for the Republic's Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Dr. Neal holds that the Western position in Berlin is "untenable militarily, diplomatically and legally." He declares "it is nonsense to talk about the Berlin situation as a part of a status quo that must be maintained." Moreover, Dr. Neal insists, "Soviet policy has not demonstrated a propensity for military aggression and the evidence usually cited to justify the contention that the Soviet Union is militarily aggressive is without foundation."

What Dr. Neal advises is that we make "a readjustment" of our militarily mistrustful policy toward the Soviet Union.

At this point, some readers may be inclined to dismiss Dr. Neal's views as those of an inconsequential person with no real influence in American affairs. He is not the first abject appeaser subsidized by the Fund for the Republic through its Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, California. Its vice-president, W.H. Ferry, is a proponent of unilateral U.S. disarmament and urges admission of Red China into the United Nations. The October 1961 issue of the leftwing Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists carried Ferry's declaration, "We shall come to war if we do not come to terms with (Red) China."

To get back to Center man Dr. Fred Warner Neal of the Fund for the Republic's Santa Barbara Center, he was something of an unknown quantity to most Americans until a

--more-- ~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~

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~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~
~~DATE 8-10-89 BY SP8B7Jdg~~

COPY FROM U.S.A. SYNDICATE, 829 Park Avenue, New York 21, New York

Background of a Center Man -- Widener -- for release: Tuesday, November 7, 1961

diligent reporter, Ralph Chapman of the New York Herald Tribune, became interested in him. Shocked by Neal's pamphlet "U.S. Foreign Policy and the Soviet Union," Mr. Chapman did some newspaper legwork by transcontinental telephone. His inquiries eventually elicited the following telegraphed information about author Fred Warner Neal:

"BORN NORTHLAKE, MICH., AUG. 5, 1915, MARRIED. BA U. MICH., 1937. STUDIED AT HARVARD 1942-43. STUDIED KARLOVA U IN PRAGUE 1949. PHD FROM U MICH 1955. FULBRIGHT RESEARCH SCHOLAR AND PROF AT ECOLE SCIENCES POLITIQUES IN FRANCE, 1950-51. HE CORRESPONDENT WALL STREET JOURNAL 1938-42. SERVED U.S. NAVY INTELLIGENCE 1943-46, WITH OSS 1943. CONSULTANT ON RUSSIAN AFFAIRS AND CHIEF FOREIGN RESEARCH ON EASTERN EUROPE FOR U.S. STATE DEPT. 1946-49. ASSISTANT PROFESSOR U OF COLORADO 1951-56. LECTURED ON POLITICAL SCIENCE AT U MICH 1953-54. ASSOCIATE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY FIELD STAFF FOR EASTERN EUROPE 1954-55. ASSOCIATE PROF AT UCLA 1956-57. ASSOC. PROF CLAREMONT GRADUATE SCHOOL 1957-60. PROF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND GOVERNMENT AT WHAT NOW CALLED CLAREMONT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE (CLAREMONT GRADUATE SCHOOL) 1960-PRESENT. HE NOW ON FULBRIGHT SCHOLARSHIP IN PARIS. AUTHOR "TITOISM IN ACTION" 1958; CO-AUTHOR OF "THE POLITICS OF WAR" 1945; AND CONTRIBUTOR TO: AMERICAN SLAVIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW; BULLETIN OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS; REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS; WESTERN POLITICAL QUARTERLY; AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW. HIS CLAREMONT PAMPHLET DEALS WITH YUGOSLAVIA AND HE ALSO DOING SOMETHING ON YUGOSLAVIA FOR FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC."

Well, we now have the background on Dr. Fred Warner Neal who writes for the Fund for the Republic's Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Ralph Chapman reports that a spokesman for the Center "said that it had commissioned the report (pamphlet) but that this should not be considered an endorsement of Dr. Neal's opinions. He added that, in fact, there was nothing like unanimous support for them within the organization."

The Fund for the Republic's disclaimer of the views they subsidized and published is standard operating procedure for so-called "responsible" tax-exempt foundations practicing the worst sort of irresponsible intellectual hocus-pocus.

PAGE THREE

Background of a Center Man -- Widener -- for release: Tuesday, November 7, 1961

The background of Center man Neal shows that he was an influential consultant to our State Department on Russian and East European affairs. As a firm believer that the Soviet Union is not militarily aggressive, what advice did Dr. Neal give State in the crucial 1946-1949 period when nearly all Eastern Europe fell into Red hands? Now in 1961 has this two-time winner of a Fulbright scholarship any contact with the State Department? Doubly subsidized by a Fulbright fellowship and the Fund for the Republic, what is this Center man doing in Paris? Is he trying to persuade our French and other NATO allies that the Soviet Union is not militarily aggressive?

END

U.S.A. SYNDICATE, 829 Park Avenue, New York 21, New York

Editors: FYI -- Copy mailed November 2, 1961

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI DATE: 1/25/62
ATTN.: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR C. D. DE LOACH

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (94-New)

SUBJECT: "THE AMERICAN ULTRAS"
BY IRWIN SUALL
NEW AMERICA
303 PARK AVENUE SOUTH
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

88711

ReButelcall to NYO, 1/24/62.

Enclosed are two copies of "The American Ultras"
by IRWIN SUALL.

C 1 copy sent W.C. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-10-2001 BY SP257108

REC-70 100-391697-636

12 JAN 26 1962

55 FEB 12 1962

C
(2) - Bureau (Encs. 2)
1 - New York (94-New)

WCZ:enc
(3)

ENCLOSURE
1 cc sent
W.C. Sullivan

RECORDED
COMM-FBI-NY
FEB 12 1962

C C

ENCLOSURES - BUREAU (2)

New York File 94-New

2 Copies of "The American Ultras"
by IRWIN SUALL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-10-89 BY SP3 BST/Jdp

107-211-1-636

ENCLOSURE

THE AMERICAN ULTRAS

75¢

the extreme right and the
military-industrial complex

by Irwin Suall

PAMPHLETS...

Let Man Prevail, a Socialist Manifesto

by Erich Fromm

35¢

The Case for Socialized Medicine

by R. W. Tucker

50¢

Socialist Platform

15¢

A Way Forward: Political Realignment in America

10¢

Democratic Socialism, a new appraisal

by Norman Thomas

25¢

If you have enjoyed "The American Ultras," you will also want to obtain these other booklets. Order from:

**New America
303 Park Avenue South
New York 10, N. Y.**

NEW AMERICA

the voice of democratic socialism in the United States

New America is a lively bi-weekly national newspaper. It offers articles by such outstanding writers as Norman Thomas, James Baldwin, Upton Sinclair, Nat Hentoff and Murray Kempton. It carries regular reports of events in the fields of civil rights, peace and labor. It is indispensable for all who are interested in a more democratic America.

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NEW YORK 10, N. Y.**

I enclose \$3.00 for one year, \$5.00 for two years

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ADDRESS _____

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

100-391697-636

F B I

Date: 1/19/62 612198

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL RM
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-391697)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (62-11509)

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
IS - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-10-86 BY SP8157J

Mrs. ALICE WIDENER, 829 Park Ave., NYC, publisher of "U. S. A." and well known to the Bureau, on 1/18/62, furnished the following information:

The Fund for the Republic (FR) had recently released a pamphlet, "Ultras", authored by (FNU) EWELL (phonetic) with a forward by NORMAN THOMAS, the well known Socialist.

She has not, as yet, been able to obtain a copy of this pamphlet. However, she has learned that the pamphlet is an attack on what are described as ultra conservatives. The Director of the FBI is included among the ultra conservatives mentioned in the pamphlet in a somewhat derogatory fashion.

She added that the FR has released or is about to release another pamphlet, title unknown, in which she and her magazine, "U. S. A.", will come under attack.

An effort was made on 1/19/62, to obtain a copy of the pamphlet, "Ultras," at the FR office, 133 E. 54th St., NYC; the FR stated that it had no pamphlet under that title. No interest in the pamphlet was not disclosed to the FR.

100-391697-637
 - (100-391697) (RM) REC-70
 - New York (62-11243) (ALICE WIDENER) (443) 637
 - (62-11509)

Sent _____ M Per _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

L - Liaison
L - Aull

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-02-2012

100-404078
100-391697-

Dates: January 15, 1962

To: Office of Security
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: FRANK R. SULLIVAN
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING
(ESPIONAGE)

The attention of this Bureau has been called to the fact that Frank R. Sullivan, a resident of New Hope, Pennsylvania, reportedly departed on December 30, 1961, for India where he will spend four months under the Cultural Exchange Program. (X) [u]

In connection with this information a source that has furnished reliable information in the past advised the New York Office of this Bureau that Fania Sullivan, wife of Frank R. Sullivan, was in contact with Celia Seborer on December 31, 1961, in New York (X) [u]

Information concerning Fania Sullivan and Frank R. Sullivan as well as information concerning Celia Seborer has been previously furnished you in connection with the investigation involving Max Seborer and his wife, Celia Seborer. You should refer to the report of Special Agent [redacted] dated April 30, 1957, at New York in the case entitled "Max Seborer, Internal Security - R." A copy of referenced report was furnished you on May 2, 1957.

b6
b7c

Classified by [redacted]
Declassify on: OADR

FAA:jnp
(6) P

1 - 105-31942 (Max Seborer)

NOTE: This communication is being captioned Frank R. Sullivan but should be filed in the main file on Celia Seborer which is Bureau file 100-404078 (inasmuch as the source of the data set forth concerning the Sullivans originated in the Seborer case.) [u]

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 2

100-404078
100-391697
100-404078
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100-404078
100-391697

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

50 JAN 24 1962

Office of Security
Department of State

NOTE CONTINUED:

Sullivan is a member of the Bill Baird Puppet Show. The information was originally reported indicating that the Cultural Exchange Program sponsoring the tour to India was under the control of USIA. However, liaison determined on 1/8/62 that the program is financed by Presidential funds and is under the supervision of the State Department. Previous investigation has shown that Mr. Frank Sullivan is a close contact of the Seaborers in New York. This communication is ~~classified~~ "Confidential" in order to protect a highly sensitive source which is currently furnishing information regarding the activities of the Seaborers. The disclosure of this source would jeopardize data of interest to the national security (X)

[u]

IN LIEU OF YELLOW

F B I
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1/2/62

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

~~Via AIRTEL~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~

~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~

~~EXCEPT AS NOTED~~

~~OTHERWISE~~

~~(Priority or Method of Mailing)~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-404078)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-76231)

SUBJECT: CELIA SEBORER
IS-R
(OO: New York)

D FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

NY 1671-S*, (whose identity should be carefully protected), on 12/31/61, reported that one FANIA, believed to be FANIA SULLIVAN, (Lower River Road, New Hope, Pa.), advised the subject that she was in town for the day after having seen her husband (FRANK R. SULLIVAN) off on the night of 12/30/61 for India, where he will be for four months under the Cultural Exchange Program sponsored by the United States Information Agency.

[u]

b6
b7C

③-Bureau (100-404078) (RM)
(1 - 100-432068)

b6
b7C

1-Philadelphia (105-2120) (MAX SEBORER) (Info) (RM)
1-New York (100-118948) (MAX SEBORER)
1-New York (100-130326)
1-New York (100-78633) (ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN)
1-New York (100-76231)

~~Classified by 20251508~~
Declassify on: OADR 2-10-89

100-391697

NOT RECORDED

126 JAN 18 1962

JAN 3 1962

JFD:pdw. Wick
(9)

~~CONFIDENTIAL 18 1962~~

Approved _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-404078-26

NY 100-76231

In an inquiry by FANIA SULLIVAN about the NEEDLEMAN family, CELIA mentioned that [redacted] [redacted] was working for [redacted]. FANIA said that one of their close friends, Dr. JOSEPH HILTON MC DANIEL, is secretary of the Ford Foundation. CELIA said she would inform the NEEDLEMANS of this information. (C)

b6
b7C

It is noted that FANIA SULLIVAN is an old acquaintance of CELIA SEBORER, wife of MAX SEBORER. Information re FRANK and FANIA SULLIVAN was set out in Philadelphia letter to the Bureau, 3/12/57. "MAX SEBORER aka. TS-R". (Bufile 105-31942) [redacted]

[u]

For information.

(C) [u], q, b6, b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 2-6-62

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-10-89 BY 208157109

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

The New York Office has furnished the Bureau a copy of a pamphlet entitled "The American Right Wing" by Ralph E. Ellsworth and Sara M. Harris. This pamphlet was written under the auspices of the Fund for the Republic.

CONTENTS OF PAMPHLET:

File 62-93324 reflects an article in the Washington Evening Star of December 11, 1961, indicating that this pamphlet had been issued. The pamphlet actually is a study of the Right Wing in America as seen through its literature. (The introduction indicates that the State University of Iowa maintains the single largest collection of writings of Right Wing organizations).

This study indicates that there have been no fundamentally new elements in the Right Wing movement, except the formation of the John Birch Society, in the past 15 years. The attitudes, points of view and modes of action have followed a basically consistent pattern since the end of World War II.

To the authors, the American Right Wing may be said to include all who share the conviction that the relationship of government to the individual should be severely limited. Specific proposals for limitation of government include cutting back the taxing and spending powers of Congress, balancing the budget at any cost, withdrawal of government from regulation of industry, from labor-management relations, public utilities, business enterprise in any field. It would like to outlaw collective bargaining and the closed shop. Likewise, conservatives desire the voiding of programs dealing with social security, medical insurance, fluoridation, polio vaccine, mental health, cultural development, federal aid to education.

EX 101 REC-7 10-311697-638

The pamphlet comments that the John Birch Society is beginning to be able to exert considerable influence at the local level all over the country. No longer can it be said that Right Wingers are 'crackpots.' The John Birch Society chapters include respectable community leaders and solid citizens who feel that the basic doctrines, if not the fringe issues, of the Right Wing coincide.

Enclosure

FCS:ear

(7)

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

CRIME RESEARCH

81 FEB 1 1962

Jones to DeLoach Memo
Re: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

with their own. On the campuses of the universities, there are now ultra-conservative organizations, containing both students and faculty, such as the Forum for Young Americans."

In conclusion, the report states "that in terms of basic economic, political, social and governmental issues the right-wing held the same beliefs as did the moderate conservatives of both major parties. They differed only in their concern with fringe issues, in their manner of speaking and in their sense of fair play. The significance of recent developments is simply that in a time of deep crisis, the moderates are more willing to go along with, and be carried by, the extremists."

MENTION OF THE FBI:

The FBI is mentioned several times, but in a minor way. The comments are both favorable and critical. On page 23, it is stated: "It may seem surprising that groups which are so concerned about personal liberty, so fearful of the police state and of strong central power, so fully aware of the prevalence of conspiracy, have never feared the FBI or thought of it as other than their own fortress of strength and protection. This is probably because J. Edgar Hoover has so thoroughly identified his own political position with that of the Right, but it also speaks well for his organization and for the government it serves. Even those on the Left, who have less cause to admire the Director, have rarely accused the FBI of the kind of persecution with which they have sometimes charged Congressional committees." (In a footnote to this statement (p. 56) mention is made of a few right-wing attacks on Mr. Hoover for his mention in "Masters of Deceit" of the opposition of Jewish organizations to communism.)

On page 34, this statement is made: "Liberalism, then is Satanism, and, according to Right, (right-wing publication) treason. This double identification has been largely accepted by the Congressional committees which have investigated American Communism, and certainly by J. Edgar Hoover in most of his speeches and publications, though there is some tendency to soften the accusation by referring to liberals as dupes rather than traitors, or else as pseudo-liberals. Actually there seems to be no more reason for calling these people, who are sufficiently named and placed, pseudo-liberals, than for speaking of right-wingers as pseudo-conservatives."

Jones to DeLoach Memo
Re: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

AUTHORS:

Sarah M. Harris is not identifiable in Bufiles (according to pamphlet, she died in 1958). Ellsworth is Director of Libraries, University of Colorado. File 62-93324 reflects a letter from Ellsworth, then at State University of Iowa, saying he had started a collection in 1945 which he called "Native Fascist Material," indicating that the Fund for the Republic had given him a small grant to enable him to publish an annotated bibliography of these groups. He offered this material for the Bureau's use, and also said that perhaps the Bureau could be of help to him. By letter of 12-5-56, the confidential nature of our files was explained. Ellsworth was born 9-22-07, at Forest City, Iowa. He received his Ph. D degree from the University of Chicago in 1937. He is a librarian by profession and has been at the University of Colorado since 1958.

"A copy of the pamphlet is attached.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

✓

GRE

BBP

THE AMERICAN RIGHT WING

A Report to the Fund For the Republic

By RALPH E. ELLSWORTH and SARAH M. HARRIS

Public Affairs Press, Washington D.C.

Copyright, 1962, by Public Affairs Press
419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

Printed in the United States of America
Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 61-773

F B I

Date: 1/29/62

PLAIN TEXT

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-391697) *REC-4*

J.W.
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (62-11509)

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
IS - C

Re NY airtel, 1/19/62.

Mrs. ALICE WIDENER, 829 Park Avenue, NYC, publisher of "U.S.A." and well-known to the Bureau, on 1/29/62, furnished the following information:

She had just obtained a copy of a pamphlet entitled "The American Right Wing" by Dr. SARAH M. HARRIS (deceased) and RALPH E. ELLSWORTH, Director of Libraries, University of Colorado, published by Public Affairs Press, 419 New Jersey Avenue, Southeast, Washington 3, D.C.

The pamphlet in its foreword described itself as a report to the Fund For The Republic (FR).

The pamphlet is critical of the Director of the FBI. It is also critical of Mrs. WIDENER, and other persons including HERBERT HOOVER, the former President of the US.

Mrs. WIDENER will do a column in answer to the material in the pamphlet. *REC-4*

- 3 - Bureau (100-391697) (RM)
- 1 - Washington Field (Info.) (RM)
- 1 - New York (62-11243) (ALICE WIDENER) (# 413)
- 1 - New York (62-11509)

AS:gag

(7) *228*

Special Agent in Charge

16 JAN 30 1962

57 FLB 1112

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M

b6
b7C

C C • Wick

*2/6/62 1. fe [initials]**INT 100-391697-639*

NY 62-11509

A copy of this airtel is being forwarded to the WFO so that should the Bureau request the WFO to obtain copies of the pamphlet, the WFO will be in possession of the information necessary to fill the request.

For information of the Bureau.

1 - Mr. Smith

REC-3 101-347 7-640 February 12, 1962

[REDACTED]
Richmond, Kentucky b6
b7C

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

I have received your letter postmarked February 6, 1962, and you may be assured that it has been made a matter of record in this Bureau.

While I would like to be of assistance to you, the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the FBI do not extend to furnishing evaluations or comments concerning the character or integrity of any individual, organization or publication. Furthermore, a regulation of the Department of Justice prohibits the disclosure of information in our files to other than appropriate agencies in the executive branch of the Federal Government. Please do not infer in this connection either that we do or do not have information in our files concerning the subject of your inquiry.

In view of your desire to keep yourself informed, I am enclosing some material available for distribution by the FBI.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

FEB 12 1962
REC'D - JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

Enclosures (4)

WLS:pw (3)

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

ed

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

REC'D-READING ROOM

FEB 12 4 11 PM '62

Mr. [redacted]

b6
b7C

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Bufiles contain no identifiable data concerning the correspondent or [redacted] referred to in his letter.

b6
b7C

Bufiles indicate that the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (CSDI) is an agency for the Fund for the Republic (FFR). We have not investigated the CSDI or the FFR. The FFR, however, is well known to the Bureau and several officials of this organization have been associated with various front groups in the past. The activities of this organization have been the subject of considerable controversy and publicity since its inception. (100-391697)

The following literature is being sent to the correspondent:

1. "The Faith to be Free."
2. "The Communist Party Line."
3. "Let's Fight Communism Sanely."
4. "Time of Testing."

TRUE COPY

February 2, 1962
Richmond, Ky.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I am a student at the University of Kentucky in Lexington. I enrolled as a soph. there this last semester. During a class called Broadcasting Today the professor, [redacted] requested that the students write for some material that had to do with certain chapters in the text. She requested we get the literature from the "Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions" which is sponsored by the "Fund for the Republic." I have been informed that this is a communist-front organization. If this is so it is a serious situation because as far as I know at least 50 students from this class are receiving this information. She also requested that we ask for our names to be put on the Center's mailing list.

b6
b7C

This professor may not be aware of what she is doing. She may be a "dupe" like you speak of in your book.

Therefore I am requesting that you send me the information you have on this Fund for the Republic so that I may be able to straighten her out. I would appreciate any help you could give me on this matter.

I would also like you to know that I am requesting that the Fund continue sending me their publications in order that I may keep up with some of the movements of the C.P. if at all possible. So you may know that I am on their mailing list for curiosity alone & because I feel that it is one of the responsibilities of a patriot to be informed.

Hoping that you keep up your valuable work in killing the communist menace & helping me in my problem,

b6
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-10-89 BY SP8 [Signature]

REC-3

I am

/s/

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100-3

February 2, 1962
Richmond, Ky.

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b6
b7C

This professor may not be aware of what she is doing. She may be a "dupe" like you speak of in your book.

Therefore I am requesting that you send me the information you have on the Fund for the Republic so that I may be able to straighten her out. I would appreciate any help you could give me on this matter.

I would also like you to know that I have requested that the Fund continue sending me their publications in order that I may keep up with some of the movements of the C.P. if at all possible. So you may know that I am on their mailing list for curiosity alone & because I feel that it is one of the responsibilities of a patriot to be informed.

Hoping that you keep up your valuable work in killing the communists & helping me in my problem,

I am

b6
b7C

1 - Mr. Smith

February 12, 1962

REC-3

1-641

[REDACTED]

ARLINGTON, TEXAS

b6
b7C

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]:

I have received your letter dated February 5, 1962.

While I would like to be of assistance to you, the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the FBI do not extend to furnishing evaluations or comments concerning the character or integrity of any individual, organization or publication. Furthermore, a regulation of the Department of Justice prohibits the disclosure of information in our files to other than appropriate agencies in the executive branch of the Federal Government. Please do not infer in this connection either that we do or do not have information in our files concerning the subject of your inquiry.

Enclosed is some literature which I hope will be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED: U.S. Edgar Hoover

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-10-99 BY SP8 GSF/jag John Edgar Hoover

Director

Enclosures (4)

FBI - WASH D.C.
REC'D - [REDACTED]

Tolson _____
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Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

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SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

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Mr. [redacted]

NOTE ON YELLOW:

No record of correspondent in Bufiles.

Bufiles indicate that the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (CSDI) is an agency for the Fund for the Republic (FFR). We have not investigated the CSDI or the FFR. The FFR, however, is well known to the Bureau and officials of this organization have been associated with various front groups in the past. The activities of this organization have been the subject of considerable controversy and publicity since its inception. (100-391697)

The following literature is being sent to the correspondent:

1. Reprint from October, 1961, issue of "FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin."
2. "The Faith to be Free."
3. "Faith in God - Our Answer to Communism."
4. "What You Can do to Fight Communism and Preserve America."

February 5, 1962

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Recently I have been receiving booklets and papers from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions of the Fund for the Republic. Some of my acquaintances assert it is a Communist or a Communist front organization or is contributing to Communist organizations. I don't think so, but I am tired of hearing the allegations.

Can you please supply me some information?

Sincerely,



b6
b7C

Arlington, Texas

AB:jz

ACK w/ encs!
2-12-62
NLS/pw.

REC-3

100 - 391697-641

5 FEB 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 8-10-09 BY 608571/ajg

EX-10*

Brownfield, Inc.
DRAFTED

EXP. FEB 8, 1962

UNITED STA

MENT

Mem um

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-391697)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (62-11509)

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
TS-C

DATE: 2/13/62

b6
b7c

Re NY airtel 1/29/62.

Mrs. ALICE WIDENER, 829 Park Ave., NYC, who is well known to the Bureau, on 1/30/62 furnished the following information:

Mrs. WIDENER is publisher of "U. S. A." magazine and author of a newspaper column distributed by U. S. A. syndicate. Mrs. WIDENER, in her magazine and column, discusses current international and domestic issues. She has favorably discussed the Director and the Bureau in her articles.

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Mrs. WIDENER, on 1/30/62 telephonically contacted the Fund for the Republic (FR), and identified herself as a representative of "U. S. A." magazine. She talked at the FR with a Mrs. WEINBERG, not further identified. Mrs. WIDENER advised Mrs. WEINBERG, that inasmuch as she and "U. S. A." were mentioned in "The American Right Wing" she was attempting to determine the exact role the FR played in the publication of "The American Right Wing."

Mrs. WEINBERG obtained the FR file regarding "The American Right Wing" and had that file in her possession at the time of her discussion with Mrs. WIDENER.

REG-51 100-391697-642

- 2 - Bureau (100-391697) (RM)
1 - Omaha (INFO) (RM)
1 - New York (62-11243) (ALICE VIDENER) #413
1 - New York (62-11509)

13 FEB 15 1962

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NY 62-11509

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Mrs. WEINBERG stated that 'The American Right Wing" was published as a result of a grant made by the FR to the University of Iowa. There were "no strings attached" to the grant, as a matter of fact, according to Mrs. WEINBERG, the FR became aware of "The American Right Wing" only after it was published. Mrs. WEINBERG emphasized that "The American Right Wing" was a report to the FR and not by or for the FR. Mrs. WEINBERG stated that "We" (the FR) are not responsible for what is in the book. However, Mrs. WEINBERG read the following from a memo from one official of the FR to another FR official

"In reference to the other charge they are making against us, namely that we are deliberately fostering neutralism and pacifism among the nation's top nuclear scientists, you know of course, that I personally do not subscribe to that charge and that we (the FR) will not go along with its makers (those making the charge of neutralism and pacifism)"

Mrs. WIDENER stated that even though the FR attempts to disclaim the responsibility for what is published in "The American Right Wing," the above quotation, in her opinion, definitely shows that they (FR officials) know what is going on and what they are doing.

This is submitted for the information of both the Bureau and the Omaha Office.

100-391697-642

Mr. Nichols

March 1, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., RADIO BROADCAST
MARCH 1, 1956

Regarding the Fund, Lewis mentioned that it had recently created the Robert E. Sherwood awards for television programs dealing with liberty and freedom as presented on commercial television. One of the awards for \$20,000 is for the best network drama, another for \$20,000 is for the best network documentary and the third for \$15,000 for the best production of either type produced by an independent station....

Describing this award racket as old stuff, Lewis continued, that this was a method of giving left wingers respectability and prestige. Lewis then mentioned an article by Joseph D. Shipley (Screenland) in "The New Leader." This article complains about the Foundation's latest activities. He said this article was captioned "Fund for the Republic Miffs it Again." According to Lewis, only one of the nine judges who is responsible for these awards has any knowledge of the theatre. He said this judge was a fellow by the name of Kermit Blumengarten (phonetic). This article states that Blumengarten's career has been marked by membership in a number of front organizations. Lewis said that Shipley's article wanted to know just what justification there could be for selecting a man with such a background as Blumengarten's as a judge on the Sherwood award jury. In conclusion, Lewis said this was just another example of the F... encouragement of left-wing activities.

RECOMMENDATION

None. This is for your information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Young, 7631

T100-391697-
NOT RECORDED
176 MAR 2 1956

HPL:nma

(8)

cc File 100-31637

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-10-89 BY SP8151J/pf

100-31637

Mr. Nichols

March 28, 1956

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.
Broadcast, March 27, 1956

Lewis covered the following items:

1. He referred to the Internal Revenue raids on the headquarters of the Communist Party and the closing down of the "Daily Worker."

2. He says that the Communist Party officials were preaming gestapo but that to his recollection the gestapo never collected any taxes.

3. He stated that the Party had refused to cooperate with Internal Revenue but claimed they had no financial records which could be inspected. They claimed that the Party paper was always in the red and besides they were exempt from taxes.

4. He said he supposed now that the Fund for the Republic would come to the aid of the Worker in order to maintain a free press under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. He noted that they had Earl Browder on the payroll and would probably take an active part.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Young (Room 7031)

ECK:mk

(3)

cc - Bureau File No. 100-39167

100-39167-
NOT RECORDED
176 MAR 28 1956

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